

The Perfect  
POLITICIAN:  
Or, A FULL  
VIEW  
*Flam* OF THE *Schryer*  
LIFE and ACTIONS  
*his* (Military and Civil) *Book*  
OF  
O. Cromwel.

Containing also a History of the late Civil  
War, so far as he was concerned therein.

*CD* The Third Edition Corrected and Enlarged. *SE*

Whereunto is added

His CHARACTER  
AND

A Compleat Catalogue of all the Honours  
conferr'd by him on several Persons.

*Qui nescit Dissimulare, nescit Regnare.*

LONDON Printed for J. Crampe, at the three  
Bibles in St. Paul's Church-Yard. MDCCLXXXI.



THE HISTORY  
OF A FREE  
VIEW  
OF THE

LIBRARY OF  
THE UNION  
THEOLOGICAL  
SEMINARY  
NEW YORK

Containing a full history of the late Civil  
War, as far as he was concerned therein.

The Third Edition Corrected and Enlarged.

Whereunto is added

HIS CHARACTER  
AND  
A Complete Catalogue of all the Honors  
conferred by him on several Persons.

For which the Author is indebted to the  
Favorable Disposition of the Author.

Printed and Sold by the  
Author, at the Office of the  
Union Theological Seminary, New York.

Mc Arpin 1681  
P438



T O T H E

205088

P E O P L E

O F

E N G L A N D .

My dear Country-men,

**T**He ensuing History properly be-  
longeth to you, in a double re-  
spect : First, Because it was your  
Blood and Treasure that raised the Sub-  
ject of this Discourse to Supremacy. Then,  
Secondly, your Backs bore the Burthen  
of his Greatness ; therefore it's fit that once  
again you look back and view with a full  
respect, this Gentleman, General, Politi-  
cian, and Protector. To limn him to the  
Life

G: Harding 12/8/36 5/6

A 3

E. M. Lanson's catalogue 114 # 227

## To the Reader.

Life in all these Colours, is too much for one Pencil; therefore I only present you with the Epitome of great Cromwells Actions, from his home near Huntington, to his Tomb in Westminster. The work is now unlike Homers Iliads in a Nut-shell, yet it may it serve for a Memento of our ever-to-be-lamented unnatural divisions.

The main scope of this Discourse, is a continued series of Tragical Scenes, with Comical Interludes lately acted in England, Ireland, and Scotland: herein endeavour to keep pace with Truth, so near as possibly it may be traced. My aim is Moderation, as the surest way to hit Affection; therefore have I chosen it before partiality or egregious Encomiums, which do not become an Historian: for Flattery is meer folly; no better. (I am sure can it seem to the sight of a wise man who knows that Panegyrics must profit the maker, or else the same Quill will again drop Gall in a Satyrical strain upon his reputation.

## To the Reader.

My Endeavours herein (I doubt not) will render some profit to the Reader; though much pleasure cannot be expected, when the Theme is nothing else but boxing about of Governments, as men do Balls in a Tennis-Court.

Countrey-men, Read over this small Manual, and then consider how finely you have brought your selves into LIBERTY.  
Wale.

I. S.

---

THE

(14)

1871

1872

1873

1874

1875

1876

1877

1878

1879

1880

1881

1882

1883

1884

1885

1886

1887

1888

1889

1890

1891

1892

1893

1894

1895

1896

1897

1898

1899

1900

1901

1902

1903

1904

1905

1906

1907

1908

1909

1910

1911

1912

1913

1914

1915

1916

1917

1918

1919

1920

1921

1922

1923

1924

1925

1926

1927

1928

1929

1930

1931

1932

1933

1934

1935

1936

1937

1938

1939

1940

1941

1942

1943

1944

1945

1946

1947

1948

1949

1950

1951

1952

1953

1954

1955

1956

1957

1958

1959

1960

1961

1962

1963

1964

1965

1966

1967

1968

1969

1970

1971

1972

1973

1974

1975

1976

1977

1978

1979

1980

1981

1982

1983

1984

1985

1986

1987

1988

1989

1990

1991

1992

1993

1994

1995

1996

1997

1998

1999

2000

2001

2002

2003

2004

2005

2006

2007

2008

2009

2010

2011

2012

2013

2014

2015

2016

2017

2018

2019

2020

2021

2022

2023

2024

2025

2026

2027

2028

2029

2030

2031

2032

2033

2034

2035

2036

2037

2038

2039

2040

2041

2042

2043

2044

2045

2046

2047

2048

2049

2050

2051

2052

2053

2054

2055

2056

2057

2058

2059

2060

2061

2062

2063

2064

2065

2066

2067

2068

2069

2070

2071

2072

2073

2074

2075

2076

2077

2078

2079

2080

2081

2082

2083

2084

2085

2086

2087

2088

2089

2090

2091

2092

2093

2094

2095

2096

2097

2098

2099

2100

2101

2102

2103

2104

2105

2106

2107

2108

2109

2110

2111

2112

2113

2114

2115

2116

2117

2118

2119

2120

2121

2122

2123

2124

2125

2126

2127

2128

2129

2130

2131

2132

2133

2134

2135

2136

2137

2138

2139

2140

2141

2142

2143

2144

2145

2146

2147

2148

2149

2150

2151

2152

2153

2154

2155

2156

2157

2158

2159

2160

2161

2162

2163

2164

2165

2166

2167

2168

2169

2170

2171

2172

2173

2174

2175

2176

2177

2178

2179

2180

2181

2182

2183

2184

2185

2186

2187

2188

THE  
LIFE and DEATH  
OF

His late Highness

OLIVER

Lord Protector of the Com-  
mon-Wealth of *England, Scot-*  
*land and Ireland.*

*His Actions in the Wars of England.*

IT is very well known, that he was of an honourable Extraction & had suitable Education. He was born at *Huntingdon, April. 25.* in the year 1599. and bred up in the famous University of *Cambridge* in *Sydney Colledge*; where whilst he was a Student, there wanted not some Pre-

B . . . . . pages



ages of his future Greatness: neither was he then so much addicted to Speculation, as to Action, as was observed by his Tutor. After a good Proficiency in the University, he came to *London*, where he betook himself to the study of the Law in *Lincolns-Inn*; that nothing might be wanting to make him a Compleat Gentleman, and a good Commonwealths man.

From thence he returned home again, where his father Mr. *Robert Cromwel* (third Son of Sir *Hen. Cromwel*) had been dead some while before. There for some time he spent his life not altogether free from the wildnesses and follies incident to youthful age, to the wasting of some part of that small estate his Father had left him. But growing to years of greater discretion and solidity he became as remarkable for his sobriety and religiousness, as before for his vanity. Insomuch that his Uncle (by his mothers side) Sir *Robert Steward* made him his heir, and left him an Estate of four or five hundred pounds a year. But before this estate came into his hands by the death of Sir *Robert* he married *Elizabeth* daughter to Sir *James Bowcher*. And though at his first leaving off his extravagancies he adhered to the Church of *England* frequenting with great devotion the publick assemblies; yet in a short time he began to associate himself with the Puritans, and to entertain the Preachers at his House. And he became not only thus Zealous in Religion, but as just in his dealings with men, even to scrupulosity; as to instance in one Mr. *Calton*, of whom some years before he had won 30. pounds at play, and meet

ing him accidentally he desired him to come home with him and to receive his money, telling him that he had got it by indirect and unlawful means, and that it would be a sin in him to detain it any longer ; and so did really pay it him back again.

By this great change he gained such repute, especially amongst the Puritans, that when the necessities of those times compelled the late King to call that Parliament, in the year 1640, ( truly surnamed *The long* ) he was elected by the Town of *Cambridg* to serve as a Member therein. And now God being displeased with *England*, for the abuse of a long continued Peace, and the blessings thereof, and determining to punish the inhabitants thereof for the same, he sent an evil spirit of Division betwixt the King and that Parliament ; They complaining of his evil Counsel, and He of their Jealousies and Fears : which Division being industriously fomented by Incendiaries, soon brake forth into the flame of open Hostility, both parties pretending one and the same Cause of Quarrel. But to that which is chiefly intended.

No sooner had the Drum and Trumpet summoned the Nation to Arms, but *Cromwel* was alarmed, who ( *tam Marte quàm Mercurio* ) neglecting the softness of a Sedentary, betook himself to a Martial employment, and having a Commission for that purpose immediately raised a Troop of Horse for the Parliament among his neighbours, at his own charge. In listing of whom he pickt out such only as he judged to be stout and resolute. But lest he might have been mi-

staken in his choice, as soon as he had fill'd up his Troop he us'd this stratagem to try them. Upon the first Muster of them, he privily placed twelve resolute men in *Ambuscado*, (it being near some of the King's garisons) who upon a signal or at the time appointed, with a Trumpet sounding a Charge, galloped furiously to the body, out of which some twenty instantly fled for fear and dismay: from these he took their horses, and got them mounted with others more courageous.

The University of *Cambridge* being not far off him, and the place of his Education, he had a special regard thereto; and knowing that Universities (of all places) might be most addicted to the King's interest, esteeming Parliaments (and this especially) the greatest depressers of Ecclesiastical Dignity, in hope of which they are there nurtured; to put the matter out of doubt, he secured it for the Parliament; and that in the nick of time, when a large quantity of the University Plate was about to be conveyed to the King then at *Oxford*. And so industrious was he in the cause he had now newly undertaken, that hearing Sir *Thomas Connesby* (high Sheriff of *Hertfordshire*) was at the town of *St. Albans* on a Market-day, there to Proclaim the Parliament and their General the Earl of *Essex* Traytors (according to the Kings Proclamation to that purpose) he unexpectedly rusheth into the Town, takes the Sheriff, and sends him up to the Parliament.

Being thus blest with a Troop, he augmented his Strength, making it up a thousand Horse  
 who

whose Riders being stout and valiant, he took a course to preserve, by arming them *cap-a-pe*, after the manner of the German *Crabats*. Being thus re-inforced, he marched into the County of *Suffolk*; and having intelligence that above forty Commanders, Knights and Gentlemen, were at *Lowers toft*, contriving an association of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* for the King, he with such secrecie and celerity enters the Town, that he surpriseth them all.

Having settled the affairs of the Associated Counties firmly for the Parliament, he was commissioned Lieutenant General to the Earl of *Manchester*, and marcheth towards *Newark*, and blocks up that Garison; and finding a party of the *Newarkers* near *Grantham*, he fought them; in which Encounter, though he wanted of equality in number, yet he so far out-went his enemies in courage and resolution, that he put them to flight, himself giving the first Onlet.

About *Newark* he spent not much time, but advanceth with the E. of *Manchester* for the reinforcement of the Siege of *York* which was then beleaguered by the Scottish General *Lesly*, assisted by Sir *Tho. Fairfax*, and a conjunction of other Forces in the North. *Cromwel* had not been long there, but Prince *Rupert* approached with a great Army, to raise the Siege: Upon certain intelligence whereof, the Generals draw off the siege, to fight him; well knowing, that if they won the day, that City would follow as an Appendix to the Victory. The Princes Scouts informing him that the Siege was raised, he sent a party of Horse to face *Lesly* on

*Hessam-Moor*, and in the mean time enters *York* with two thousand Horse, carrying with him all things needful for the relief of the Garison: which having done, he seemingly made towards *Tadcaster*, but soon returned again into *Marston-Moor*, and there draws up his Army in Battalia to the best advantage the ground would permit. *Lesly* was in the mean time marching with his Army toward *Tadcaster* after the Prince: but hearing what we had done, he wheels about to give him battel. The Prince having possesst himself of all the advantages that might be, keeps his ground. The Generals, *Lesley*, *Manchester*, and *Fairfax*, having drawn up their Army in as good form as the time would permit; placed most of *Lesleys* and *Fairfax* his Horse in the Right Wing: *Manchester's* with other of the *Scotch* Horse made the Left, commanded by *Cromwel*, ( who had that Charge committed to him for the day: ) the Foot made up the Main Body. Both Armies standing in this posture, Prince *Rupert's* Left Wing making the first charge dissipates the Parliaments right, prosecuting their charge with such fury and vigour, that in a trice destruction was every where seen. *Cromwel* in the Left wing ( not knowing what had befallen the Right ) couragiously charges *Rupert's* Right wing; which soon turned the scale, before inclining toward the Prince: the advantage he got here, by his wise improvement thereof, soon redounded to the whole Army: for although many for fear disbanded themselves and fled; yet the rest, as many as could be got together, being led on by the Noble Earl of *Manchester*



## Wars of England.

*chester*, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, (the last of whom received in his face that day a Mark of Honour) joyning with victorius *Crom.* made the day clearly theirs. Here he gained the title of *Ironsides* from the impenetrable strength of his Troops which could by no means be broken or divided. This Fight was the most bloody of any in all the Civil Wars, wherein was great slaughter on both sides, judged by spectators to be little less than ten thousand men. Prince *Rupert* and his helpers being thus discomfited, they fall out, and lay the blame of the miscarriage one upon the other; the Earl of *Newcastle* and others of quality leaving the Kingdom thereupon. This impediment being removed, the Siege of *York* was renewed: which City (though governed by valiant *Glemham*) being hopeless of new succours, was soon yielded.

Many other examples of *Cromwel's* great Achievements both North and West might be given, even whilst he was in a lower capacity, particularly at the second battel of *Newbury* within four months after *Marston-Moor*, where he endangered the person of the King, had not the Earl of *Cleveland* hazardously interposed, and bore off the pursuit. But studying brevity, we shall pass over many things, and come to speak of him as under the new Establishment, in which he received a greater Command.

The Parliament seeing the War to be tedious, and finding, that notwithstanding the daily great effusion of blood, and vast expence of treasure, small progress was made in the Kingdoms resettlement, they resolve on a new course, by



new-modelling the old Army; and to prevent the just offence of any of their Members who might be displaced thereby, they pass an Ordinance, (commonly called *The self-denying Ordinance*) that no Member of Parliament should serve in the Army, but wholly attend the service of the House unless they had the Houses licence for so doing. Then they recruit the Army (which had been much wasted by Sicknefs, and a late defeat in the West) to One and twenty thousand, viz. Fourteen thousand Foot, Six thousand Horse, and One thousand Dragoons; commissioning Sir *Thomas Fairfax* their General.

*Cromwel* being then in the West, and receiving intelligence of the new Establishment, and of the self-denying Ordinance; though he were a great and victorious Commander, yet he had not forgotten to obey; but immediatly disposing of those under his Command, he posts towards *London*, to attend his service in Parliament, according to their late Ordinance aforesaid: and giving understanding that the General was then at *Wind-  
sor*, he took that in his way, and went to kiss his excellencies hand, and take leave of him. But the Parliament being sufficiently sensible of his worth, and how excellent an instrument he might be in carrying on the War, they would not suffer him to desert his Military imployment; and the next morning before he came forth of his Chamber, a Commission was sent him by the Committee of both Kingdoms, whereby he was made Lieutenant-General of Horse to the whole Army.

Upon this new Establishment, the Kings party were

were very much heightned, thinking it an easie matter now to subdue the Parliaments Army, being thus chopt and changed, and many eminent Commanders laid aside and discontented. But they found the contrary: for as a fractur'd bone well set becomes the stronger; so this broken Army, being skilfully handled, became so well knit, that it was thereby rendred far more vigorous and effective. But to proceed.

*Cromwel* having accepted of this new Command, he immediatly applies himself to action. For the Kings main Mid-land forces under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, lying then about *Worcester* and the borders of *Wales*, intending to take the Field; they sent a Convoy of two thousand Horse to *Oxford*, to fetch off the King with the Train of Artillery, and to procure Recruits for the Army. *Fairfax* having intelligence hereof, sent *Cromwel* with a party of Horse and Dragoons to impede their passage. No sooner was order given, but he was at the work: for with incredible swiftness marching to seek his enemy, he found them at *Islip-Bridg*, and there encountred them, and that with so much gallantry, that he took 500. his Horse and 200. Prisoners, among whom were many persons of quality: here he took also (besides many other Trophies of Honour) the Queens Standard. And having got intelligence of a party of 350. foot under Sir *William Vaughan*, who were marching toward *Ratcod-Bridge*, he pursued them, and took the said Sir *William*, Lieutenant Col. *Littleton*, and two hundred more prisoners. And knowing it to little purpose to gain a Victory, and

and not to prosecute it, he therefore pursued the remnant that escaped to *Bleehington*-House, where Colonel *Windebank* kept a Garrison for the King. he summons the place, requiring a speedy rendition giving its Governour to understand, that otherwise they must expect the effects of the fury of an enraged Souldiery. The Governour being terrified by the late defeat, (it seems) despairing of relief from *Oxford*, and doubting his own strength delivers up the house; with all the Armes and Ammunition therein; (marching to *Oxford*, where he was shot to death for his pains.) So that here were two Victories; the well improvement of the first procuring the second.

Then he attempted the reducing *Faringdon* House, storming if it, but it was so stoutly defended by Sir *George Lisle*, that having lost fifth of his Men before it, he drew off without success.

But letting pass many of his more inconsiderable actions, we proceed to an account of his campaign in that remarkable and fatal Battel of *Naseby*.

This Battel of *Naseby* brings to mind the saying of that learned man, *Hugo Grotius*, viz. When people fight for their liberties, the Princes Crown is at stake: which was verified upon the King in the effects thereof: for the scale of his affairs were thereby so turned, that in short time after, he both lost his Crown, and became subject to the will of his enemy; being never after favoured with one successful attempt. This Battel was fought on the 14. day of *June*, 1645. near *Naseby*.

the Kings Army lying in and about *Harborough*,  
 where Prince *Rupert's* Head-quarters were, they  
 had resolved the night before, to fight *Fairfax*,  
 knowing themselves to be much stronger than he,  
 especially in Horse. They were not more for-  
 ward to engage, than the other were willing:  
 and thus being both agreed in the extremity of  
 Disagreement, they both draw into a large field  
 by the Town side, about a mile and a quarter  
 broad. This was the ample stage whereon  
 that bloody Tragedie was acted: sad to behold!  
 And so much the more sad, when we consider  
 that it was English blood, shed by English hands:  
 where Relations were forgotten, friendship relin-  
 quished; yea, he that perhaps but lately would  
 have laid down his own, to preserve the life of  
 his friend, doth now use all possible industry to  
 destroy it: and this upon no other ground, but  
 the common Feud that was then risen. Behold  
 the effects of a Civil War! The King's Front was  
 made up of a gallant Body of Horse; the Foot  
 made a second Body: the Right Wing was com-  
 manded by the brother Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*;  
 the left by Sir *Jacob Ashley*: other com-  
 manders of great quality and long experience  
 in Martial affairs beyond the Seas, taking their  
 places in the field. Thus being drawn out, with  
 Reserves to second the main Body, they took up  
 the whole breadth of the field. The Parliaments  
 Foot made a firm Body in the midst, command-  
 ed by Major General *Skippon*, (whose actions that  
 way deserve an honourable mention) winged  
 with Horse on either side: the Right Wing was

Library of the

com-

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

New York

commanded by the valiant *Cromwel*, who (to the great joy of the whole Army) came in to the assistance the night before, out of the Associate Counties, (whither he had been sent to secure especially the Isle of *Ely*) with 600 Horse and Dragoons; the left was commanded by *Ireton*. *Rupert* gave the first Charge, which he did with such violence upon *Ireton* in the Parliament Left Wing, that (notwithstanding their strenuous resistance) he was routed, and his men put to flight, the Prince pursuing them thorow the Town: but having more mind to the spoil, than to the thorow-performance of his work, he leave the pursuit, and assaults the Waggon; when being repulsed, he trifled out so much time, that *Cromwel* in the right wing, assisted by Colonel *Rossiter*, had in the mean time quite disordered the Kings Left Wing, and as it were raked the field before him, separating the Horse from the Foot, and thereby rendring them helpless one to the other. In this action a commander of the King's knowing *Cromwel*, advanced smartly from the head of his Troops to exchange a bullet singly with him, and was with the like gallantry encountred by him, both sides forbearing to come in, till their pistols being discharged, the Cavalier with a slanting back-blow of a broad sword luckily cut the Ribbond that tyed *Cromwel's* Murrion and with a draw threw it off his head; and now ready to repeat his stroke, *Cromwel's* party came in and rescued him, and one of them alighting threw his head-piece into his saddle, which he hastily catching, and something dismaid by the chance



th clapt it the wrong way on his head, and so  
e fought with it the rest of the day, which proved  
te most highly fortunate on his side. For as is said,  
un having separated the Horse from the foot, the  
or Horse fled toward *Leicester*; in pursuit of whom,  
Ire *Cromwel* (considering that though there had been  
di a Rout, there might be a Rally; and not only  
nt to prevent after-claps, but also to secure what  
nu was already won) sent some few Troops, know-  
pu ing that small forces might do great execution  
th on a flying enemy: himself in the interim joyn-  
ha ing with their own Foot, so encompassed the  
ve Kings Infantry, that (notwithstanding they shew-  
ne ed much gallantry and valour that day, even to  
tha the Admiration of their enemies) being tired  
on out, and despairing of succour, beholding  
ere nothing but death and destruction which way so-  
th ever they looked, they threw down their Arms,  
th and submitted to mercy.

on The Kings loss hereby will appear the great-  
f er, if we consider it in these two respects:

1. He lost a gallant Army, which was new-  
ro ly flush'd and heightned in their courage, by the  
alle late good success they had in the storming of *Lei-*  
nt *cester*; presently after which, the King writ thus  
om to the Queen: *That without being sanguine, he*  
ave could report his actions to stand in a better condition  
or than at any time since the War began.

2. Not only was an Army lost, but all pos-  
sibility of raising another; so vigorously did the  
Victors husband and prosecute what they had be-  
gun and gotten.

No sooner had the Parliaments Army broken  
dow



down this bank, but like a Torrent they foot  
 overflowed the whole Kingdom, bearing down  
 and subduing all opposers. *Leicester* was imme-  
 diately regained; from thence they haste to the  
 relief of *Taunton*, which had been long besieged  
 by *Goring's* Army, and held out to admiration.  
 Upon their approach, *Goring* draws off: they  
 follow him, and overtake him near *Lampore*,  
 where they engage him: and here *Cromwel* shew-  
 ed much prudence, as well as courage: for the  
 Enemy being put to flight, he would not suffer  
 part of the Horse to pursue, but caused them  
 to forbear till they were all come up together,  
 and then himself led them on, doing the work  
 so effectually, that he took almost all their Foot  
 and Ordnance. Thence they stept to *Bridge-*  
*water*, a very considerable place, which (though  
 obstinately defended) was soon taken by storm.

In those days there was a sort of people called  
*Club-men*, who pretending Neutrality, would ad-  
 mit of no Armies within their Bounds: and so  
 confident were they, as to capitulate with the  
 General, as if they intended to cudgel him out  
 of their Countrey, notwithstanding his late great  
 successes; thinking to keep their Clubs in their  
 hands, when so many gallant men had been fore-  
 ed to part with their swords. But *Cromwel* (not  
 knowing what might be the issue of such tumul-  
 tuous assemblings) resolves to curb them betimes,  
 and to crush them in the egge; to which pur-  
 pose, having notice of their Rendezvous, he mar-  
 cheth toward them with a party of Horse. The

were four thousand strong, and had encamped themselves on the top of a hill; promising much resolution in one of their Ensigns, which had this Motto :

*If you offer to plunder, or take our cattel,  
Be ye assur'd we'll give you battel.*

But this vapour soon vanished : for *Cromwel* giving but one Charge up the Hill, routed and dispersed them all, taking 400. Prisoners, whom he carried to *Sherborn*; that Castle (governed by *Sir Lewes Dives* for the King) being then beleaguered by *Fairfax*, and soon after reduced by storm.

Hence the Army marcheth towards *Bristol*, a place of very great importance, lying on the confines of *Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset* and *Summerset-shires*. Prince *Rupert* was in it, with about four or five thousand Horse and Foot; who being too much addicted to Plunder, made the circum-jacent Countrey desire to be rid of such injurious neighbours. At the Armies first arrival, it was advised by *Cromwel* and some other chief Officers, that they should storm part of the City : which accordingly was put in practice so effectually, that Prince *Rupert* durst not run the hazard of a second assault, but immediately delivers up that great and well fortified City, having liberty to march to *Oxford*.

This great service being thus performed, *Cromwel* (without the least delay or intermission) taking with him a Brigade consisting of four Regiments, hastes to the reducement of that strong Castle

Castle of the *Devizes*, whose natural strength was much increased by the ingenuity of its Governour Sir *Charles Lloyd*; who being sensible thereof, and confident therein, returns no other answer to the first Summons, but *Win it, and wear it*. But as if neither art nor Nature could sufficiently fence a place against the Stratagems and Assaults of this invincible Conquerour, (whose very name began now to be terrible to the stoutest adversary) he soon brought the Governour to terms, and compelled him to yield upon Composition.

*Winchester* was soon reduced to the same pass, after the Governours stomach had been a little brought down, by the Battery of great Guns and Mortar-pieces. Here valiant *Cromwel* (as always) being punctual in observation of Articles, and being informed that some of his Souldiers had been faulty therein; no sooner was the complaint made, but the redress was provided: for, hanging up one, to the terrour of others, he sent the rest of the offenders to *Oxford*, to be there punished at the discretion of the Governour Sir *Thomas Glemham*; who returned them to him again, with an acknowledgment of his great Nobleness, in being so punctual with his enemy. His tenderness in this respect had great influence on others, that had a disposition to yield.

But now we come to *Basing-house* in *Hants*, a place that knew not what it was to yield. It was the Mansion of the Marquess of *Winchester*, standing on a rising ground; encompassed with a Brick Rampart, and that lined with earth, and a deep dry ditch environing all. The House be

situate and built as if for Royalty, had this Motto, *Ayez Loyalte*. Here the Marquess stands upon his guard, assisted only at first with his own family and a hundred Musquetiers from *Oxford*; but was recruited afterwards by the King from time to time, as occasion served. This Garrison had been several times assaulted, but to little purpose; first, by Colonel *Norton* and Colonel *Harvey*; next, by Sir *William Waller*, with seven thousand Horse and Foot; who (although he were by many in those days surnamed *The Conqueror*) did little more than heighten the courage of the besieged, who made frequent desperate Sallies upon him. Thus out-braving all Assailants for some years, the place began to be esteemed impregnable: but *Cromwel* soon evinced the contrary: for having seen Sir *Will. Ogle* the late Governour of *Winchester* march out according to Articles, and settled the affairs of that Garrison for the Parliament, he the next day marches for *Basing*, whither he no sooner comes, but he falls to the work in good earnest; placing a strong Battery against it, that soon made it assaultable; which perceiving, (for he had an excellent faculty in discerning advantages) he orders the several Posts to prepare for a Storm. And although the danger and difficulty of the work were great, even enough to take off the edge of an ordinary resolution, having to deal with so valiant an enemy, who had often manifested their high courage and great skill in withstanding several former Assailants; yet he (accounting any design the more honourable, by how

C

much

much the more difficult to accomplish) gives Onset, and that to so good purpose, that the besied saw themselves in no capacity to withstand him.

Thus was *Basing* subdued; a service so much the more acceptable, by how much the more good redounded to the Countrey (even to the whole Nation) thereby, in opening a way for Commerce and Correspondence betwixt the west *England* and other parts, which before had been so long obstructed by this *Garison*.

*Langford House* near *Salisbury* was visited next by *Cromwel*; but they within having heard what he had done at *Basing*, despairing of any better success than that *Garison*, yielded at the first Summons.

From hence he marches towards the main Body of the Army; who were then upon a march towards *Exeter*, to block up that place. But that design being for the present waved, they suddenly fall upon *Dartmouth*, and take it. Which being done, they encounter the Lord *Hopton* at *Torrington*, where he was defeated, and upon pursuit, received (as he was formerly assistant in giving) a Cornish Hug, and then upon enforced to disband. Whereupon followed the rendition of *Exeter*.

There remained only now in the West *Pendergast's Castle*, which being blockt up by Col. *Forsythe*, was soon yielded.

Thus *Fairfax* & *Cromwel* having thorowly secured the West, and only *Newark* remaining in the North, the hopes of the King and his party were very low; yet not quite dead; for he had still a Party, commanded by that gallant

Souldier



Souldier Sir Jacob Ashley: but these hopes soon vanish: for he being encountred by Colonel Morgan near Stow on the Wouds, was utterly overthrown, himself and 1600 becoming prisoners to the Victors.

And now that black cloud which had so impetuously showed upon other places, began to gather about Oxford it self, the Kings Head-quarters, and place of his residence, it being already blockt up by Fleetwood and Ireton, and every day in expectation of a close Siege. Here Art her self had contributed her utmost assistance, to make the place impregnable; it being encompassed with regular fortifications, furnished with a strong Garison of stout souldiers, stored with abundance of all kinds of provisions, and (which is more than all the rest) governed by one that had given sufficient proof of his valour and faithfulness formerly, in holding out two other Garisons (Carlisle and York) to the utmost extremity. But all this avails not, Oxford must yield. And the unfortunate King, who had for some time past received no other News, but (Job like) one messenger of ill tidings at the heels of another, having no Field-Army left, nor scarce a Garison to flee to, began now to consider the danger of his person, and to cast about which way to secure himself; and at last resolves to personate a Serving-man, and by the Conduct of Col. Ashburnham to escape to the Scottish Army before Newark. The Parliament receiving intelligence of his being there, they demand the King: the Scots refuse to deliver him; whereupon grew a



great Contest betwixt the two Nations, concerning their propriety in the person of the King. But the *Scots* calling to mind, that 200000*l.* was behind of what the Parliament had formerly hired them for, thought they had now an opportunity to hedge it in, and therefore (like the *Ap* that made use of the *Cats foot* to take the *Ap*le out of the fire) they wave further dispute, and having gotten their money, deliver up the King.

Being in the hands of the English, he is conveyed to *Holmby-House* in *Northamptonshire* a Princely Mansion; where we shall leave him at present, and come to speak briefly of some transactions in Parliament, City and Army.

Wars are not only carried on by Swords and Guns, but Tongues and Pens are co-instrumental; which as they had been too much employed formerly, were not idle now. The distinguishing terms of opprobry formerly used, *viz. Cavalier* and *Roundhead*, were now transmuted unto those of *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, who at this time clash with a high hand. *Cromwell* siding with the *Independent*, together with *Ireton* and others, upon a plausible pretence of lessening the charge of the Kingdom, put their partisans in the Parliament to motion a disbanding of some Regiments of the Army: which being a just and necessary work was readily assented to, the drift of the motion not being discovered. Hereupon Major General *Massey* (that adhered to the *Presbyterian*) and Colonel *Cook* with their Brigade

Brigades were disbanded, amounting to two thousand five hundred Horse.

The *Presbyterian* party in the Parliament, began now to be sensible, whither these devices tended, and therefore ( for a Counterplot ) they resolved on the new disbanding of some ( the *Scots* being now departed home ) and transporting other Regiments for the service of *Ireland*, for that the necessity of that Kingdom did require the translation of the War thither. This the *Independent* presently perceived, and gave *Cromwel* timely notice of: who hereupon, together with *Ineton*, insinuated to the common Souldiers that the Parliament designed to disband them without their arrears, or else to send them into *Ireland* to die of sickness and famine. Which made the Souldiers break out into reviling language against the Parliament: whereupon was prescribed a Module of a Military Common Council, who should assemble, two Commission Officers, and two private Souldiers out of every Regiment, to consult for the good of the Army, to draw up their grievances and present them to the General, and he to the Parliament; these to be called by the name of *Adjutators*.

These *Adjutators* ( being prompted thereunto by *Cromwel*, &c. ) agree upon the seizing on the King at *Holmby House*, under pretence of enlarging him from that narrow restraint he was there kept under by the Parliaments order. To do this they employ one Cornet *Joyce*, whom they sent with a thousand Horse on the fourth of *June*, to *Holmby*: The King, upon promise of greater liberty,

berty, was not unwilling to commit himself to the Army; so the Cornet conducted him to *Chil-dersey* then the head-quarters of the Army: from thence he was convey'd to his own house at *New-market*, whither his friends and Chaplains without any restriction were admitted.

The *Prebyterians* in Parliament (who were still the greater number) being further alarmed at these transactions, resolved to divide the Army, and send part of it to *Ireland*, and forthwith to cashier *Cromwel* and his chief Partizans. And they publish a Declaration, forbidding the Souldiers to petition the Parliament, as being under their command. And a private resolution had been taken to secure *Cromwel* then in Town, and not suffer him to return to the Army, now full of rebellious mutiny against them. This he having intimation of, got hastily and secretly out of Town, and without stop or stay rid to *Triple-heath*, his horse all on a foam, and there was welcomed with the shouts of the whole Army, to whom he declared the actions and designs of the Parliament.

Here they engaged to perpetuate the Army till their desires were obtained: which resolution was confirmed at another more general Rendezvouz, at *New-market*; where *Cromwel* was the first that alighting from his horse at the head of his Regiment and lying upon his belly subscribed it, which was in several Parchment Rolls universally followed.

Hereupon an Impeachment was drawn up, and presented to and approved by the Council of A-

*jurators*

jurators, against eleven of the house of Commons, the chief of the Presbyterian party, viz. Sir William Waller, Col. Massey, Sir John Clotworthy, Mr. Denzil Hollis, Col. Long, Mr. Anthony Nicholas, Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr. Glyn, Sir John Maynard, Sir William Lewis, and Col. Ed Harley; the main of which charge was, that they had been the obstructors and prejudicers of several petitions to the Parliament for redress of publick grievances, retarded the settlement of the Kingdom, &c. This was presented to the House of Commons by Col. Scroop, Okey, Hewson, &c. Who also demanded money and Arrears, and to be paid equally with those that had engaged for Ireland. And though the Parliament had expressly declared against this violence; yet the said Members were suspended sitting till they had cleared themselves, the Army advancing nearer London, and resolving not to desist their March, till they were superseded the House.

Great disputes also arose in the two Houses at this time concerning the King; some pleading his coming to London, with freedom, safety and honour, to treat with his Parliament; others urged that no more Addresses might be made to him. The City closed with that party in the Parliament which was for the Kings return; and were so hot upon it, that in a tumultuous way they would needs compel them to alter their Militia, and bring home the King. The contrary Party in the House seeing violence offered them, they with the Speaker betake themselves to the protection of the Army; who being thus counte-

nanced by Authority, and thereby encouraged resolve upon a March for *London*, to restore the Members of Parliament to their places and Authorities. Upon the Armies approach, the Citizens (who before had made some semblance of resistance, raising Forces to that purpose under *Massey*) desire a Truce: which was granted, upon these Conditions.

1. That they should desert the Parliament then sitting, and the eleven impeached Members.

2. That they should recal their Declaration.

3. That they should relinquish the present Militia.

4. That they should deliver up the Forts, together with the Tower.

5. That they should disband their Forces.

Which things being performed, the Army made a triumphant passage thorow the City of *London*, returning the Members that had fled to the Army, again to the House: and the eleven secluded Members, who had resumed their seats deserted *London*, and went some over sea, others with Passes to their own homes in the Country.

To return again to the King: We left him at *New Market*, from whence the Army remove him from one place to another; as to *Royston*, *Hatfield*, *Causam*, an house of the Lord *Cravens*, (one that hath had a deep share in the sufferings of the Nobility: ) here the Kings Children came to him, where they dined together. But here he continued not long neither, before his remove to *Hampton Court*, where being terrified

with



with an Apparition of Adjutators, he left that place, and unfortunately renders himself to Col. *Hammond* in the Isle of *Wight*, where he was secured in *Carisbrook* Castle. Propositions are sent to him from the Parliament, but with little effect. Provoked herewith, the Houses pass their Votes of Non-addresses to his Majesty, and take the Government upon themselves; which was followed with a Declaration from the Army to stand in defence of those Votes.

And thus the Parliament and Army are again united, and the City made to acquiesce in their Resolves; when a disturbance arises in the Army it self by a party called *Levellers*: but the headquarters being then at *Ware*, some of the forwardest were seized and shot to death, others imprisoned, and all their favourers cashier'd; twenty being disbanded out of a Troop, that all might be cull'd out. (Yet notwithstanding we shall hear more of them by and by).

But notwithstanding the agreement of the Parliament and Army, their late proceedings in relation to the King so far discontented the people, that in every place nothing could be heard but bad Wishes and worse threats: from whence many did prognosticate, the ensuing Summer would be a hot one in respect of Wars. And now the subjects of both Kingdoms, which before had joyned in Arms against the King, begin to look upon his Estate and condition with commiseration, blaming themselves for being instruments in bringing him into the condition he then was: and now they petition the Parliament  
(after

(after the same manner that some years before they had the King) in a tumultuous manner; and impatient to have the grant of their desires delayed, they press the Houses for a speedy redress of their present Grievances; but could have no other answer, but what was delivered by the Souldiers guarding the Parliament, & a Troop of Horse from the Mews; these dissuaded the *Surry*-men with feeling arguments from coming there any more.

The Parliament and Army something dismaied at these tumults of the people, an accommodation is proposed between the Presbyterians and Independants: at the motion of which in the House of Commons, a Gentleman replied, *That if there were any persons that had a private interest different from the publick, and under the distinction of parties had prejudiced the Kingdom, he was not fit to be a member of the House.* And the Army now free from the Tower the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Lincoln*, the Lords *Maynard*, *Willoughby*, &c. whom they had impeached of high Treason after their March into *London*: and with them the Lord Mayor, (*viz.* *Sir John Gayr*) and Alderman *Langham*, Alderman *Adams* and others are likewise set at liberty. And as a further satisfaction and submission to the Authority of the Parliament the Army publish a declaration, wherein they bewail their former miscarriages and misdemeanours towards the Parliament, their meddling with the Civil power, and that force and violence they had used to the two Houses; and now promise faithfully and dutifully to acquiesce in their wisdom and resolution. But notwithstanding this yielding and relenting

of the Army, (wherein *Cromwel* and his intimates were the leading men) the people continue to be tumultuous in several parts of the Nation. First, a considerable part of the Navy, with Captain *Batten*, sometime Vice-Admiral to the Earl of *Warwick*, desert the Parliament, and put themselves under the power of Prince *Charles*: Next, the *Kentish*-men rise in Arms, under pretence of Petitioning: *Langhorn*, *Poyer*, and *Powel*, seised on some strong Towns and Castles in *South-wales*, and declared against them: Yet this was not all; there blew a Northern blast, that made many men shake: Duke *Hamilton* rusheth in with an Army of *Scots*, and joyns himself to *Langdale*, *Glemham*, and others of the Kings Party in the North.

Upon these Risings, the Parliament considers how to conjure these evil spirits down again: the Valour of their Souldiers had been tryed in many Fights and Sieges before; their former good successes made them confident that Victory was settled in their Scabbards, and that they should no sooner draw their Swords, but their enemies would fly. To manage these Wars, *Fairfax* was sent into *Kent*, *Lambert* into the North, there to stop (as much as could be) the overflowing Torrent of *Hamiltons* Army: who wasted the Countrey at pleasure, wheresoever they came: for *Wales*, victorious *Cromwel* was designed: before him (as forlorn) marches Col. *Horton* with 3000, who engaged *Langhorns* 8000 raw Welchmen, and routed them: *Cromwel* himself soon follows after, with two Regiments of Horse,

## *His Actions in the*

Horse, and three of Foot. The first place we find him at in his March, was *Chepstow-Castle*, which he resolved to besiege; but himself hastening to *Pembroke*, he leaves Col. *Eyre* to dispatch this piece of Service, who accomplished it in fifteen days. *Cromwel* on the twentieth of *May* comes to *Pembroke*, *Poyer* being Governour of it; who relying much upon the strength of the place, refuseth all conditions that are profered to him. *Cromwel* not being accustomed to despair of any thing that is possible, applies himself to the Siege at Land; Sir *George Ayscough* in the mean time with a Squadron of Ships, cast Anchor in the Roade, to forbid any succours to be carried in by Sea; and as occasion served, to furnish the Leaguer with great Guns and other provisions necessary.

*Cromwel* having taken a full view of the Castle, and considering the strength of it, makes his way by approaches; and with his great Guns, summons them to yield. This course he thought the safest, upon these considerations: First, For that by certain intelligence he was informed of the small Magazine of Provision that they had in the Town and Castle, so that of necessity they must yield: their bodies being weakned for want of sustenance, would bring down their stout Stomachs. Then, Divisions among themselves, which grew to that height at last, that the Souldiers began to mutiny against their Commanders. And lastly (though he had Men enough to force them, yet) considering this was not the last service his forces must go upon, he would

## Wars of England.

not be too prodigal of precious blood; knowing that Victory to be the cheapest which is won without blows.

Having thus considered of the matter, he causes strict guard to be kept in his Trenches, that so they might be kept in from running away. This order was not long observed, before Hunger had so battered down their Bellies, and therewith so quell'd their courage, that they desired a Parly, and willingly yielded up the Town and Castle upon quarter, as to the common Souldiery; but *Langhorn*, *Poyer* and *Powel*, with some of the prime Commanders, render themselves prisoners at mercy; which some of them found, but others were afterwards made exemplary.

No sooner was this considerable place reduced to obedience, but *Cromwel* immediately marcheth Northwards with all speed possible, to disperse that black cloud which threatned to send a *Scotch* Mist upon those parts of *England*: being at *Gloucester*, he acquaints the Parliament with the necessities of the Army: which was no sooner done, but immediately supplies were sent, to the great encouragement of the Souldiery. *Cromwel* having joyned with *Lambert*, who then attended *Hamiltons* Motions, and retarded his Marches, their united Forces made an Army in all of 8600 strong; too weak (in outward appearance) to grapple with 21000 men; but considering the courage and resolution of the Souldiers, they were sufficient to do the business, as it proved at last. *Cromwel* finding an opportunity to correct the *Scotch* for their insolent rapine, resolves to



to do it, and drive them home, or die in the attempt. At *Preston* in *Lancashire*, his forlorn, consisting of 200 Horse and 400 Foot, first engaged after them, *Cromwel* himself brought up the main Battel in as good a posture as the Ground would bear, (which being inclosure and mirie Ground was inconvenient for Horse) he fought them through a dirty Lane, and forc'd them to seek shelter in the Hedges near at hand: which proved but a poor defence against the rage of *Cromwel* men. After four hours dispute they were driven into *Preston* with the victorious Souldiers at their heels, who presently cleared the streets. The Duke finding the place too hot for him, retreats over the Bridge with as many Horse and Foot as could follow him, where was the greatest piece of service, and extraordinary courage shew'd on both sides; but especially *Cromwel* and his Men, imitating the Discipline of the ancient *English*, with Swords in hand rush'd into the thickest of their Enemies: pelting them to death at a distance they looked on rather as a sign of cowardise than courage. The Scots not being well acquainted with that manner of Discipline, did not like this rough handling; and therefore betake themselves to their heels; accounting that the safest way to save their lives: but this shift fail'd them; for *Cromwel* was as nimble in pursuit, as resolute in fight. Lieutenant General *Bayly* finding smart blows on his back, when he dared not turn his face, being driven into *Warrington* Town, there capitulates to deliver himself and four thousand with him prisoners at War.

which

which was immediately done. The Duke flees away to *Uitoxeter*; whither being pursued, he was there taken prisoner by Col. *Waite*, and about 3000 Horse with him.

He being soon after brought to *London*; and not long after that, to a Tryal for his Invasion; this was one of his Pleas to his Charge, *That he was invited*. But he found very sorry entertainment: for after he had been thus shamefully beaten, he (with others) was adjudged to lose his head.

This great Battle was very considerable in many respects: first, as to the Victory it self, 2000 being slain on the several places, and near upon 10000 prisoners taken, one hundred Colours, with all their bag and baggage: then, it conduced much to the carrying on the Parliaments Designs at that time; and withal, left no hope of relief for those stout hearts that so obstinately defended *Colchester*.

*Cromwel* after this Victory, (being yet reeking hot with the slaughter of the *Scots* at *Preston*) posts away to acquaint *Monro* (who was then come into *England* as a reserve to the Duke with a considerable force) what was become of *Hamilton* and his great Army, which was reputed so formidable, that its very name terrified at a distance. *Monro* having notice of his coming, had learnt so much wit in *Germany*, whilst he was in great *Gustavus* his Service, as to fight with none but them that were of his match; and knowing the English would be too hard for him, he withdraws back again into *Scotland*, where presently after he was disbanded.

*Cromwel*

Cromwel having thus ridd the whole Nation  
 general of a great fear, and eased the North  
 particular of that sad burden they groaned under  
 by the Plunder and Oppression of the *Scots* Army  
 prosecutes his Victory to the utmost, entrin  
 into *Scotland* it self. In his way he reduced *Berwick*  
*and Carlisle* to their former obedience, both  
 being delivered on composition. Before his en  
 trance into *Scotland*, he drew the Army to a Ren  
 dezvous on the Banks of *Tweed*, and caused  
 Proclamation to be made at the head of every  
 Regiment of Horse and Foot, that on the pain  
 of death no Cattle nor Goods should be forc'd  
 from the *Scotch* people by any of his Souldiers  
 in their March, without an especial order; but that  
 in all things they should demean themselves ci  
 villy in their March and Quarters, not giving  
 offence to any. So taking his way directly for  
*Edenburgh*, he was met by many of the *Scottish*  
 Nobility and Gentry from the Committee of E  
 states with congratulatory Orations in Honour  
 of his worthy Achievements; acknowledging  
 that his presence would conduce much to the  
 settlement of their distracted Kingdom. Being  
 thus arrived at *Edenburgh*, he was received with  
 great demonstrations of joy, and lodged in the  
 Earl of *Murray's* House: to him resorted the  
 Lord Chancellor of that Kingdom; the Earls of  
*Leven, Argyle, Cassil*; the Lords, *Burley, Warri  
 ston, and David Lesley*; with many other persons  
 of honour, both of the Nobility and Gentry.  
 The Lord Provost, with several eminent Citi  
 zens, came to welcome him thither and present  
 their

their service to him. When these Visits were over, he desired the Committee of Estates to seclude out of publick Office all that had any hand in, or did in the least promote *Hamiltons* late Invasion. To which the Committee condescended; making this request withal, (being fearful of themselves, and doubting new stirrs might arise after the departure of the *English Army*) that the General would leave some Forces with them, which might be ready to quell any Insurrections; promising, that when they had raised a Force sufficient for their own defence, then they would dismiss them, and return them again to their own Country. This was yielded unto; and Major General *Lambert*, an experienced Souldier, with three Regiments of Horse, was appointed for the service.

Now things standing in this posture, to the content of both parties, the *Scots* invited *Cromwel*, and the chief Officers of the Army to the Castle of *Edenburgh*, whither they all went in Coaches, and were highly treated at a Banquet prepared for them. At their departure, the great Guns and small shot gave them many volleys for a farewell. Thus was he welcomed by the *Scots*: hereafter we shall see how he will welcome himself; for this is not the last time he means to visit them: his next errand I fear will be less to their content.

*Cromwel* having now finished what he came about, prepares to depart. *October* the 16, 1648. he leaves *Edenburgh*, being conducted some miles on his way by *Argile*, and some other of the

Scottish Nobility; at whose parting, great demonstrations of affection pass betwixt them.

*Cromwel* now bends his course directly to *Carlisle*, from thence marches Southerly, to compel *Col. John Morrice*, and those bold fellows, yield, that held out *Pontefract* Castle. This place though not very great, was very considerable to the strength of it; but 'twas not the fortification, nor Wall of Stones, but the Wall of Bones (as it were) that made it so famous at this time all the Kingdom over. The Garison consisted of about 400 Foot, and 130 Horse bold desperate Fellows, as may be perceived by some of their Actions. One day there issued out of the Castle a party of Horse, who fetcht *Sir Arthur Ingram*, and made him pay 1500 for his Ransom, before he could get from them. Again, afterwards Captain *Clayton* and most of his Troop were seized upon by them, and made prisoners: 200 head of Cattle, with many Horses they fetch'd into the Castle, whilst *Sir Henry Cholimley* lay before it with his Forces to keep them in. But the boldest trick of all was this. One Morning before day there sallied out 40 Horse who post away to *Doncaster*, where *Col. Rainsborough* then quartered, who had a Commission to command in chief before the Castle: when they were come near the Town, three of the party left their Fellows without, and confidently marching in, enquired for *Col. Rainsborough's* quarters, which when they had notice of, they entered pretending to deliver a Letter to him from Lieutenant Gen. *Cromwel*: the Col. little dreamt



## Warr of England.

ing that these were the Messengers of death, confidently opens his Chamber door to receive the Letters; but instead thereof, he received that fatal wound into his heart, that sent him to his grave: And although his Forces were about him, and kept guard in the Town; yet these confident fellows got back into the Castle in the middle of the day.

To curb these insolencies, *Cromwel* (immediately after he had settled the Northern Counties in peace and quietness) comes to the Leaguer; and having ordered the several posts for a close Siege, so that now they could not range abroad, he left a strong party before it, commanded by *Lambert* (who was come thither out of *Scotland*.) Himself marches up to *London*, and takes his place in the Parliament, who (in his absence in the North) had recalled their Vote of Non-Addresses, and sent to the King new propositions, upon whose answer to them they sent Commissioners to treat with him at *Newport* in the Isle of *Wight*; but things being brought to no issue before *Cromwel*'s arrival, the treaty broke off, and the Parliament was again brought to adhere to their said Vote; and being sensible of the large testimony he had given in *Scotland*, of his prudence in governing his Army whilst they were in that Kingdom, and with what civility both Officers and Soldiers behaved themselves, together with their care to avoid all causes of offence both in their Quarters and March, they order the hearty thanks of the House to be given him, which was accordingly done by the Speaker;

whilst he sat among them; he receiving it with great humility, (after his manner) not taking to himself the least of all those great things that were wrought by him, but attributing them wholly to GOD, who is the Giver of Victories.

And now the Army was wholly at the devotion of *Cromwel*; and the Adjutators (by his advice) remonstrate to the Parliament, That all persons of whatsoever quality or condition (not excepting the King) that had been guilty of the blood spilt in the late War, should be brought to justice and condign punishment. Secondly, That a day should be set for the summoning the Prince and the Duke of *York*, to appear and clear themselves of such things as should be laid to their charge; and if they did not, then to be declared incapable of succeeding in the government. Thirdly, That the Parliament settle the future Government, and set a reasonable period to their own sitting, and make certain future Parliaments Annual or Biennial, &c. This was presented to the Parliament by certain Officers of the Army, who caused a guard of Souldiers presently to be set at the Parliament-house door, and another in *Westminster-hall*, excluding such from the House as they knew disaffected to these proceedings. And at the same time *Cromwel* dispatched Col. *Ewer* to take the King out of the custody of Col. *Hammond*, then at *Newport* in the Isle of *Wight*, and to carry him over to *Hurst* Castle, to be kept there till further orders. And now the Parliament make an Ordinance, whereby they declare the Oaths of Supremacy

Sup  
sent  
his  
Hoc  
mon  
Tha  
Tre  
the  
the  
Com  
whe  
peop  
and  
pow  
Hon  
nem  
I  
bro  
Far  
Try  
Hin  
mica  
ed i  
whe  
the p  
ther  
be k  
landa  
a C  
com  
six  
sides  
grea

Supremacy and Allegiance to be void; and presently after make another to bring the King to his Tryal, which having been read thrice in the House, it was Voted, *That the Lords and Commons of England assembled in Parliament, do declare; That by the fundamental Laws of the Realm, it is Treason in the King of England to levy war against the Parliament.* But the Lords not concurring, the Commons further Vote, *That all Members of Committees should proceed and act in any Ordinance, whether the Lords concurr'd or no; and that the people under God, are the Original of all just power, and that the House of Commons have the Supreme power of the Nation; and that whatsoever the House of Commons enacted, is Law:* Which passed *nemine contradicente.*

In the mean while the King is sent for, and brought up from *Hurst-Castle*, by *Winchester*, *Farnham* and *Windsor* to *St. James's* in order to his Tryal. The substance of the Charge against Him was, *That he had designed to set up a Tyrannical power, and so that end had rais'd and maintained in the Land a Civil War against the Parliament, whereby the Countrey hath been miserably wasted, the publick treasure exhausted, thousands of people murdered, and infinite other mischiefs committed. That he had been the promoter of the Rebellion in Ireland, &c.* To try him hereupon the House pass a Constitution of a high Court of Justice, to consist of an hundred and fifty Commissioners, six whereof were of the Lord's House, and besides them the Judges lately elected; but the greatest number were of the Officers of the Army,

and some few Citizens. But the Lords House not consenting to the Tryal of the King, the six are put out of the Commission; and the Judges giving their opinion also against it, are likewise excepted. Serjeant *Bradshaw* is constituted President, and Mr. *Cook* Solicitor. The Commissioners sit in *Westminster-Hall* (the first time) on *Jan. 20.* (being *Saturday*) 1648. where the King was brought before them, sitting in a Chair. He heard the Charge read, but denyed to plead to it, either guilty or not guilty, till he should know by what lawful Authority he was brought thither: The Answer given not being to his satisfaction, he persisted in his refusal to plead. The like he did on *Monday Jan. 22.* the second time he was brought before the Court: and likewise on *Tuesday Jan. 23.* the third time. Lastly, on *Jan. 27.* the King being brought into the Court, desired to be heard before the Lords and Commons in the *Painted Chamber*; promising after that to abide the judgment of the Court. Upon which the Commissioners retired for half an hour to consider of it; and then returning, caused the King to be brought to the Bar, and told him that what he propos'd, was but another denial of the Courts jurisdiction; and that if he had no more to say, they would proceed to judgment. Then the King answering he had no more to say, the President made a long Speech in justification of the Parliaments proceedings, grounding his discourse mostly on this principle, That the people have the supreme power, and the Parliament is the people. This

Speech

Speech ended, the sentence of death was read, (all the Commissioners there present being 67. approving the sentence ) and the same on *Tuesday* after, (*Jan. 30.*) executed.

Thus fell King *Charles*; a man indued with singular Vertues: temperate he was above all his Predecessors, both as to Wine and Women, taking no more of the first, than might well suffice and cherish Nature; and for the last, constant to one; insomuch that none of all the preceeding Kings that arrived to his years, could be compared to him. He was a good Theologer, not only in the Theorie, but practised what he knew. None ever undertook him in dispute, but much admired his Parts; even those Ministers which the Parliament sent to him in the Isle of *Wight*, besides many others: the Earl of *Worcester* and Mr. *Henderson*, were both silenced with his Arguments. He was endued with much Patience, Prosperity and Adversity being both one to him, working little else in him, but only to shew that he had an absolute command over his Passions and Affections. His Actions in the last scene of his Life, made many pity him, who before had undervaluing thoughts of his Abilities, looking upon him as too weak to bear the burden of three Kingdoms on his Shoulders. In a word, he wanted nothing, but less confidence in those about him, and more constancy and resolution in himself, to be a happy King.

The Tragedy being over, the same day they made an Act of Parliament, *That whereas several pretences might be made to the Crown, &c. it is enacted*



ed by this present Parliament, and the Authority of the same, that no person shall presume to declare, proclaim, or publish, or any way promote Charles Stuart, Son of Charles late King of England, commonly called Prince of Wales, or any other person to be King of England and Ireland, &c. And on Feb. 5. following, they Vote the House of Lords to be useles and dangerous. And thus the kingdom was turn'd into a *Democracy*, or rather an *Oligarchy*; for presently they made an Act, That none of those Members who were seclused for opposing the Vote of Non-Addresses (before spoken of) should ever be re-admitted: And these were commonly called the seclused Members; and the rest were by some stiled a Parliament, and by others a Rump. This said Vote, That the supreme Authority was in the Commons alone without King or Lords, was imposed to be assented to by all persons, before they should receive any benefit by the Law, or enjoy any place of publick trust or profit which they could hinder them of. This Pill many swallowed, but did not like the taste: had it not been wrapt about in gold (their profit) few would have put it to their Mouths. The Stomachs of the Clergy most of all nauseated it, being point-blank against the Covenant, which they had taken not long before, and endeavoured still to maintain.

After this they constituted a Council of forty persons, termed a Council of State, who should execute the commands of the Parliament, and over them *Bradshaw* is placed with the title of Lord President. And now the Council of Ad-

judicators

mutators in the Army is abolished: who presently draw up a Petition to the Lord General *Fairfax* and his Council of Officers. But the subscribers of it were sentenced by a Council of War to ride with their faces towards the Horse tails before the heads of their several Regiments, with their faults written on their breasts, and their swords broken over their heads, and so cashiered the Army, &c. Which sentence was accordingly executed upon them, in the great Palace yard at *Westminster*, *March 6.* to the exasperation of the Army.

Soon after, all the Army quartering near *London*, rendezvouzed at *Ware*; where several Regiments, among whom was *Cromwells* of Horse, (in pursuance of the same Petition, and to be known by themselves) wore white in their hats. Of this *Cromwel* had intimation, and thereupon appointed two Regiments of Horse from further quarters who were ignorant of this combination, to appear there likewise. Being all drawn up in *Battalia*, *Cromwel* with an angry and down look rides round, and on a sudden commands one of those two Regiments to encompass a Regiment of Foot; which being done, he commanded four men by their names out of the body, and committed them with his own hands to the Marshal, and immediately called a Council of War (while the rest of their partakers slunk their white Colours into their pockets, and trembled at this boldness of *Cromwel*) and tryed and condemned them: but by the favour of the Court they were to cast lots for their lives, two only to dye:  
the

the two whose lot it was to dye were presently shot to death upon a green bank by the other two in the face of the Army. But yet could not the humour be purged out of the Army though another Leveller bled for it, one *Lockyer* a Troop who for promoting the engagement and agreement was shot to death at *S. Pauls Churchyard*. For now there was a formidable eruption of it at *Salisbury*, where Col. *Scroops* Regiment of Horse laid aside their Officers, and with their Colours marched thence, in order to a conjunction with *Harrisons*, *Iretons* and *Skippons* Regiments, who had confederated (by means of those Adjutors) in the same design: which affair admitting no delay, General *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* with his own Regiment advanced to them to *Bagshot*, and so to *Alton*, where they had notice that they were marched to *Abington*, whither (after a tedious March of forty miles in one day) the General and *Cromwel* came; and first offered them a Treaty, wherein satisfaction might be mutually given, and that done, that neither party should come within ten miles one of another: whereupon the Levellers marched to *Burford*, relying on the General's and *Cromwel's* words: most of them put their Horses to grass, leaving a *Corps du gard*, of some 60 men, the whole party making in all 900. consisting of twelve entire Troops. While they were thus securely resting themselves, and their Horses put into the adjoining meadows, about 12 a clock at night Col. *Reynolds* fell into their quarters, (having notice from some within of their posture) and presently

ly massacred the Guard, and seized most of the other, then tipling or asleep. Here were taken near 900 Horse, and 400 Prisoners, whereof three only were executed, one *Thomson* and two more who dyed very resolutely; Cornet *Den* expressing his grief and sorrow, was reprieved at the instant of Execution, which their fellows beheld from the Leads of the Church, and were saluted with a message of Decimation; but at *Cromwells* desire they were all pardoned, and sent home to their own houses. This Hurlyburly being over, the General came to *Oxford*, where he was highly treated, and he and *Cromwel* made Doctors of the Civil Law; and at their Return to *London* they were feasted and presented by the City.

Affairs of State standing thus, the Parliament find the Nation full of Souldiers that were lately disbanded, some by force in the field, as the King's; and others the Parliaments, formerly in their service, but now disbanded for supernumeraries: these for the most part were men of Fortune, who by reason of their long continuance from their Callings could not possibly set themselves to work, and therefore must use their Swords to the best advantage, either upon some new employment, or exercise arms on the Highway. Our new State being very sensible of this, found out a way to divert these ill Humours that lay lurking in the Body of the Nation, by sending them to *Ireland*, where they might do GOD and their Countrey good service, in subduing the Rebels that now were grown so powerful, that no place but *London-derry*, and *Dublin* it self, were

were able to withstand them; nor they neither without speedy succours from *England*.

This Rebellion (the most barbarous and bloody of any that ever broke out in any part of the world, acted by Devils in humane shape, rather than by men, murdering no less than 20000 Protestants in two Months time, without any regard either to Age or Sex) was put in practice on the 23 day of *October*, 1641. which though it had been contrived with such privacie, and acted with such violence, yet Divine Providence did wonderfully preserve *Dublin*, to be a Refuge for such as escaped thither from other places, to avoid the fury of their bloody Persecutors.

Now *Ireland* lying in this sad condition, weltring in blood, and overwhelmed in the greatest Misery that Fire and Sword could inflict, many of the poor Protestants get into *England*, hoping there to find shelter from the persecuting Enemy: but this proved little comfort to those distressed Souls; for here they find, to the great Augmentation of their Grief, that *England* prepares on all sides to act the same upon one another, which had been done against them in *Ireland*. But although the difference between the King and Parliament grew wider every day than other, they endeavouring rather to get advantages, than compose differences; yet 'twas so agreed, that some Regiments should be sent over into *Ireland*, to stop the proceedings of the Rebels, which in effect was but as a Bucket of water cast on a flaming House, that could do little to the quenching of it.

After



After some time, the King in *England* finding his strength every day more and more decrease, and the Parliament to get ground of him in most places, did not only send for those Forces out of *Ireland* again, but many of the Rebels themselves came to his assistance, so that *Ireland* by this was in a worse condition than ever, forsaken of all, and left to be worried by those blood-thirsty Wolves; worse by a thousand degrees than the ravenous brood which their Countrey produceth: yet when their condition was at the worst, it pleased GOD (who never fails his People in distress, but makes their necessity his opportunity) to stir up the Parliament in *England* with Bowels of compassion to look on the distresses of their Brethren. Long had they fasted and prayed for them, but did not add to it their helping hand: one without the other can never do much good; but joyned together, a small Force is sufficient to accomplish great designs. *A desperate disease requires a desperate Cure.* The State-Physicians of *England* having now quite purged out Monarchy with all its Appendants, and verified the words of Bishop *Laud*, *No Bishop, no King*; the first (with the Ceremonies of the Church) being fallen, quickly after came the other down also; they resolve to send the same sharp medicine to cure the Bleeding Wounds of *Ireland*, which (they thought) had cured *England*: and to that end they send over an Army under the Command of *Cromwel*, who was intituled the Lord Governour of *Ireland*: whose actions there we now proceed to.

His

## His Wars in IRELAND

**T**HE Marquess, now Duke of Ormonde, was the King's Lieutenant of Ireland, and the Rebels had made a Confederacy among themselves, and the Confederates had made a League with the Lieutenant, wherein they agreed upon liberty given them in the exercise of their Religion, to be faithful and assist the King. To these also were joyned some Forces raised by the Earls of *Castlehaven* and *Clanricard*, and my Lord *Inchiquin*, so that they were the greatest United strength in the Island, but there were other Papists, that would by all means subject themselves to Protestants, and they were called the Nuncio's Party, as the others were called the Confederate Party. But the Confederates having broken their Articles with the Lieutenant, and being ready to besiege *Dublin*, He not being able to defend it, surrendered it to Col. *Jones* for the Parliament of *England*, and came over to the King at what time he was carried from place to place by the Army. From *England* he went over to the Prince, now King, residing then at *Paris*. And now the Confederates affrighted with the news that the Parliament was sending over an Army thither, desir'd the Prince by Letters to send back the Marquess, *Ormond*, ingaging themselves to submit absolutely to the King's Authority, and to obey the Marquess.

Marquess as his Lieutenant; whereupon he was sent back. This was almost a year before the going over of *Cromwel*, in which time the whole kingdom was reduced by them, excepting *Londonderry*, which was governed by Sir *Charles Coote*; and *Dublin* the chief City, wherein was Colonel *Michael Jones*, with no great Force; and that which made it less, was the suspicion he had of his own Souldiers fidelity, who many times deserted their Colours. The Enemy with a numerous Army lay under the Walls of it, with many menacing Summons, requiring of them a speedy rendition: yet through the vigilancy of the Governour Valiant *Jones*, it held out to the confusion of the Besiegers. But his present danger made him reiterate his Calls to the Parliament in *England* for speedy Aid of Men and Provisions, alledging, that else all would be lost: and they being sensible of his condition, expedite their Assistance, appointing Comm. General *Ireton*, Col. *Scroop*, Col. *Horton*, Major General *Lambert*, with their four Regiments of Horse; Col. *Ewers*, Col. *Cook*, Col. *Huson*, and Col. *Dean*, with theirs of Foot, and five Troops of Dragoons, all old Souldiers of the English Army, whose Valour had often been tried in many sharp Encounters, and found not to fear the countenance of the fiercest Enemy. Besides these, other Regiments were raised by beat of Drum, to make up their number sufficient to carry on the Work effectually.

The Souldiers being in readiness, and nothing wanting but a General, the Parliament having had

had experience of *Cromwells* great worth and valour, knowing no man more fitting for Employment, desired him to accept of it; who received it with a great deal of chearfulness; expressing how ready he was to serve in this Employment above any in the world, not doubting but GOD would make of him an Instrument to execute Vengeance upon the Rebellious Irish. This answer was so highly resented by the Parliament, that immediately they constitute him General of all their Forces in that Kingdom, and Lord Governour both as to Civil and Military Affairs in the Nation. Col. *Jones* they commissioned Lieutenant-General of the Horse. This being done, the Souldiers march with great speed (not resting above one night in a place) to the Rendezvous near *Milford in Wales*, there to expect the Lord Deputy *Cromwel*; who having dispatched his business with the Parliament, began his Journey.

Tuesday July 10. 1649. leaving *London*, he set forward in great state, himself drawn in a Coach with six Flanders Mares, attended by many Members of the Parliament, and Council of State, with the chiefest Officers of the Army, his Life-guard consisting of eighty men, which had been formerly Commanders, bravely mounted and accouter'd both themselves and Servants. Thus he rid to *Brandford*, where those Gentle men that accompanied him took leave, wishing a successful issue to this design: which was answered again with great respect. Away he post for *Bristol*, to take order for the Train of Artillery

and many other businesses needful for the hastening his men on Shipboard. From thence he takes his way to *Wales*, having before sent three Regiments, (*viz.* Col. *Reynolds* of Horse, Col. *Venables* and Col. *Monks* of Foot) These as the *Vaunt-Corours* to the Army, were shipped from *Chester* and the Ports thereabout; who being favoured with a prosperous Gale, soon arrived at the Port of *Dublin*, where they were received with unspeakable Joy and Gladness: the Citizens spared for nothing that might be a comfort to the Sea-sick Soldiers, hoping that the recovery of their Health might be an enlargement of their Liberties, who now were wholly confined within the narrow compass of their City walls. They were not at all deceived in their expectation: *Jones* his courage being much heightened by the arrival of these men, now scorned the Enemies Bravadoes, and resolves (upon the first opportunity) by Gods blessing, to remove them farther off; which it was not long before he performed: as appears by what follows. On Tuesday, *August* 2. 1649. the Enemy confidently draw down (with a party of 1500 Foot besides Horse) to *Baggotsfold*, a place within one quarter of a Mile Eastward of the City upon the Sea, hence they intended to run their trenches towards the City-works, and thereby secure those Forts which were intended to be made towards the water, to hinder the landing of supplies and succours expected from *England*. But *Jones* and *Reynolds*, with those other Commanders in the City, observing the intent of the Enemy, saw a necessity to inter-



rupt them in their design, and therefore speedily drawing out twelve hundred Horse, and four thousand Foot, they with these quickly enter the work (which the enemy had newly raised) and fell upon them with so much courage, that they routed their Horse at the first charge: the greater part of the Foot were soon after cut in pieces and most of the rest taken prisoners.

This success so heated *Jones* his Men, that they followed the chase to *Rathmines*, where *Ormond*'s Camp was, and there they engaged his whole Army, consisting of 19000 Men. The report of the bold attempt, quickly reached the General *Ormond*'s Ears, who then was playing at Tables in his own Tent; and being told the news, wished the Rebels (as he called them) would come that so he might have sport with them. His wish he had, but not the wished effect: for the Tables are soon turned, the sport proving very bad and bloody to *Ormonds* whole Army, who were totally routed with a very great slaughter; 4000 killed in the fight and chase, 2517 prisoners taken, most of them men of quality; amongst the rest *Ormonds* own Brother: all their great Gun Ammunition and Provision they left behind them and withal, a rich Camp to reward the valiant Souldiers; who, with the spoil thereof, quickly clothed themselves in rich Habits, and so marched into the City as it were *incognito*; for many of the Officers knew not their own Souldiers they were grown so fine. This Victory was obtained with the loss of few, the number not exceeding twenty.

The Marquess at this defeat fled to *Kilkenny* with a considerable number, others betook themselves to *Tredagh*, whither he soon came himself with three hundred Horse, in very good time: for Col. *Jones* hoping the Town might be so dismay'd with this overthrow as to surrender, halted thither with some Horse to summon it; but understanding *Ormond's* coming he returned to *Dublin*. *Ormond* fortifies *Trim*, *Dundalk* and other places neighbouring to *Tredagh*: hoping to defend his own for the present by his Force of horse, and to raise an Army of foot in the Spring by that time *Cromwel* would get thither. But herein his hopes fail'd him, for the News of this great Victory quickly reaching the Lord Governour *Cromwel* at *Milford Haven*, he presently shipped himself and Army for *Dublin*. August the 13. he set sail from thence with thirty two ships, wherein was the Van of the Army: on the 15 day, Major-General *Ireton* followed after with the Body, shipped in forty two Sail: Mr. *Hugh Peters* brought up the Rear in about twenty Sail. The Winds being favourable, quickly brought them to *Dublin*, where they were received with all the signs of Joy imaginable; the great Guns echoed forth their welcome, and the peoples Acclamations resounded in every Street. When *Cromwel* (the now Lord Governour) was come into the City (the concourse of people being very great to see him, whom before they had heard so much of) at a convenient place he made a stand, and in an humble posture, having his Hat in his Hand, he speaks thus to the

people: That as God had brought him thither for safety, so he doubted not but (by his Divine Providence) to restore them all to their just Liberties and Proprieties; and that all those whose hearts and affections were real for the carrying on of the good work against the barbarous and blood-thirsty Irish and the rest of their Adherents and Confederates for the propagating of the Gospel of Christ, the establishing of Truth and Peace, and restoring the bleeding Nation to its former happiness and tranquillity, should find favour and protection from the Parliament of England, and himself, and withal, should receive such endowments and gratuities as should be answerable to their Merits.

This Speech was highly applauded by the people, and answer returned by many hundreds, That they would live and dye with him.

The Army being all wasted over, the General knowing that without Gods blessing his labour would be in vain, therefore (to obtain it) he published a Proclamation, strictly forbidding all persons under his command to use the frequent practice of Swearing, cursing, and drunkenness, declaring a full resolution to punish with the greatest severity that the Law could inflict, all those that should neglect or contemn the same. This wrought a great Reformation; many taking warning, by the punishment of some. The Army being now refreshed, and the Lord-Governour having settled the Affairs of the City, both Military and Civil, he draws the Army out of Dublin to a general Muster, where appeared a compleat Body of 15000 Horse and Foot: out

of these were drawn twelve Regiments, containing in number between 9 or 10000 stout resolute Men, for the present Expedition. This Army being provided with all things necessary either for Offence or Defence, drawing along with them a gallant train of Artillery, four whole Cannon, and five Demy-cannons, besides other Pieces useful either for a Siege or the field, the Lord-Governour marches them away, and quickly seats himself under the Walls of *Tredagh*. Here he finds a most resolute enemy, that would sooner break than bend: the Governour of the Town was Sir *Arthur Ashton* (who had formerly been Governour of *Reading* and *Oxford* in *England* for the King) a Souldier he was that would not be complemented out of his Garison; nothing but force must do the feat. With him were about 3000 Horse and Foot, most of them English. Observing the Rules of War, *Cromwel* sent them a Summons; which was slighted, and looked upon rather as a formality, than that he did believe to have the Town upon it. This taking no effect, the Lord-Governour orders all things for a quick dispatch of the Siege: *Aiscough's* ships block them up by Sea; on the Land, the white Flag was taken in, and the Red Ensign displayed before the Town, to denounce blood and destruction without a speedy rendition. This did not much frighten the besieged, who expected succour from *Ormond*; and besides, they were unanimous in this resolution, To expire with the Town; which they did shortly after. For General *Cromwel* did not spend time (as the manner

is) in drawing of Lines, making of Ditches and in flow approaches and other formalities of a siege; but presently planted a strong Battery which quickly levelled the Steeple of a Church on the South side the Town, and a Tower by it. The next day the Battery continuing, after two or three hundred shot made, the corner Tower between the East and South-wall was beaten down, and two breaches made, which were quickly entred by Col. *Hufons*, *Ewers*, and *Castles* Regiments of Foot, the breaches being not wide enough to admit the Horse to enter with them. Here the height of Valour was shewn on both sides; they grappling with each other at the Swords point; the Assailants fighting for the Town, and the Defenders for their Lives (which indeed will make a coward fight, though he fear to look upon the blows he gives: ) the breaches were not more courageously assaulted than valiantly defended; the Enemy within gallantly charging those that entred, driving them back again with more speed than they came in. *Cromwel* all this while standing at the Battery, and perceiving his mens retreat, draws out a fresh reserve of Col. *Ewers* his Foot, and in Person enters with them once more into the Town. The example of their General, with the shame of the former repulse, so animated the Souldiers that none were able to stand in their way: and having now got sure footing in the Town, they spare none, but put all they met with to the Sword. But though the Town was thus won, it was not wholly subdued: for *Ashtons* men desperately disputed eve



ry corner of the streets, making the Assailants win what they had by inches; and at last, the streets proving too hot, they betook themselves to the Churches and Steeples, and other places of shelter: in *St. Peters Church*-steeple were got about one hundred, who there resolved to sell their lives at as dear a rate as possibly they could: but they were all soon blown up with Gunpowder, only one man escaped, by leaping from the Tower; the Wind being favourable to him, he only broke his Leg by the fall; which the Soldiers seeing, took him up, and gave him quarter. In other places they were summoned to yield; which they refusing, presently strong Guards were put upon them, to prevent their succour, that so they might be starved out; which device was so effectual, that it made them soon yield to the Conquerers Mercy; which was but small: for all the Officers, with the tenth man of the Souldiery, were presently killed, and the rest thrust on ship board for *Barbadoes*. The Governour had his share also, making an end both of his Life and Government together. Thus was this strong Town taken and sacked in a weeks time, which the Rebellious Irish were three years of taking.

This Town was the most considerable that ever *Cromwel* came before, if we respect the stout resistance made by its Garison, and how much the having of this place might conduce to the reducing of all *Ireland*: and though the attempt was bloody, *Cromwel* himself giving command not to spare any one that should be found in

## *His Wars in Ireland.*

Armes, yet Cruelty could not be laid to his charge for, like a Politick State Physician, he here opened one Vein, to preserve the whole Body of the Nation from a lingring War; and by this course likewise he wrought such a terrour in the Enemy, that ever after he made but short work of any Siege, and in small time reduced the whole Nation.

The report of this slaughter, quickly flies a way to *Trim* and *Dundalk*, (the two next Garrisons) which put them into such a pannick fear, that they quitted the Towns: in *Dundalk* their haste was so great, that they left their great Guns behind them on the Platforms.

In the mean time *Ormond's* new Levies proceeded but slowly, many of the English revolted to *Cromwel*; yet he got something of an Army together, which though not sufficient to give *Cromwel* battel, yet whereby to incommode him to intercept his Provisions, and the like. *Cromwel* knowing this, would lose no time, nor slip this advantage: wherefore having made *Col. Husan* Governour of *Dublin*, (*Col. Jones* the late Governour, being now Lieutenant General) he marches the Army Westward to attackue *Wexford*. In his March, a place called *Killingkerick* (about 14 miles from *Dublin*) was quitted, and a company of *Cromwel's* Army put into it: so likewise was *Arcklo-Castle*, the seat of *Ormond's* Family. Besides these, many other places in their March submitted.

October 1. The Army fac'd *Wexford*, and required the Governour *Col. David Synnot*, to make

a speedy surrender thereof. His answer was very doubtful as to his intentions, which occasioned many papers to pass betwixt him and the Lord *Cromwel*. This delay of the Governour, was purposely used to protract time until the Earl of *Castle-haven* had entred into the Town 500 Foot to strengthen the Garison. The Governour having received these recruits resolves now to stand to it as long as he could, seeming to contemn the Force that lay against him. Near the South-East end of the Town is seated the Castle, upon that, *Cromwel* bends his greatest Force, knowing that the gaining thereof would be the Towns reducement: which fell out to be true: For many Peals of great shot were not plaid upon it, but the Governours stomach fell down to a rendition. The Souldiers being now possess of the Castle, and shewing themselves from thence, struck such a terrible fear into them in the Town, that they quitted the Walls; which *Cromwel*'s Souldiers perceiving, in a trice they clapt to their scaling Ladders, and stormed without any great resistance. Being thus entred the Town, none was suffered to breath, that was found in Arms: and so cutting their way through the Streets, they came to the Market-place, where the Enemy (as if the blood had returned to the heart now at the last gasp) most manfully fought for some time. This sharp encounter lasted not long, before they were quite broken, and all that were found in Arms put to the Sword.

The reducement of this place was of great consequence to the Conquerers, being a Port-Town, and

and very convenient to receive supplies from *England*. From thence the Army march to *Ros* a strong Town situate upon the *Barrow*, and far more considerable for Navigation than *Wexford*, the River admitting a Ship of seven or eight hundred Tun to ride by the Wall. Of this place Major General *Taff* was Governour, who had with him a strong Garison; and to make all sure, *Ormond*, *Castlehaven*, and the Lord of *Ards*, in their own Persons, caused 1500 men more to be boated over to reinforce it. On this, the Army were Spectators, but could do nothing to impede their Entrance. The Lord Governour no sooner approached it, but he sent the Governour a Summons, to this effect: *That since his coming into Ireland, he ever avoided the effusion of blood; having been before no place, where he did not first send them such terms as might be for their preservation; and to continue the like course, he summons them to deliver up the Town to the Parliament of England.* To this no answer at present was returned, until six or seven great Guns planted before it began to play: then the Governour fearing to fall into the same *peril* that other Garisons had done before, was content to treat; which they did, and came to this issue, That the Town be delivered up, and the within march away with bag and baggage to *Kilkenny*, the which fifteen hundred of them did, but six hundred of them being *English* revolted to the Lord Governour *Cromwel*.

Whilst these things were in doing, *King* *Sale*, *Cork*, *Toughal*, *Bandon-bridge*, and other Garisons

Garifons voluntarily declared, and came under obedience: In the North, Sir *Charles Coot* and Col. *Venables* were very successful: the Lord *Broughil*, and Col. *Huson*, in other places, did very good service. I should here particularize some of them, but that my whole design is to march along with the main Body of the Army.

*Rofs* being now in *Cromwels* Possession, he caused a Bridge of Boats to be laid over the River *Barrow*, and the Army to sit down before *Duncannon*, a strong Fort commanded by Col. *Woggen*, (who had formerly served the K. in *England*). This place was so well provided with all things, that upon consideration at a Council of War, it was looked upon to be time lost in tarrying long before it: therefore the Army speedily rose, and march away into the County of *Kilkenny*, where *Ormond*, having joyned his Forces with *Inchiquin*, gave out that he would fight, whatever came of it. His Army was strong both in Horse and Foot, far outpassing *Cromwel's*, who was weakned by continual duty, hard marches, the Flux and other sicknesses raging amongst them, occasioned by wants, and unseasonable weather, commonly quartering in the field: yet for all this, *Ormond*, upon the approach of the Army, (whose weaknesses at that time required rather an Hospital to cure their distempers, than an Enemy to make fresh wounds) vanished away, without giving one stroke: Whereupon Col. *Abbot* reduced *Eniscoge*, a little walled Town about five miles from *Rofs*: and Col. *Reynolds* with  
twelve



twelve Troops of Horse, and three Troops of Dragoons, marching up to *Carrick*, having divided his men into two parts; whilst they were amusing with the one party, he entred a gate with the other, taking about one hundred Officers and Soldiers, without the loss of one man.

The news of this place no sooner arrives at *Ross*, but the Lord Governour *Cromwel* (who for some time had laid there sick) marched away immediately to reduce the City of *Waterford*, hoping to gain that important place before the Army should draw into Winter-Quarters. No sooner was he come before it, but a Regiment of Horse, and three Troops of Dragoons, were dispatched away to reduce *Passage-Fort*: this party soon made them desire quarter, and deliver up the Fort and Castle: in it were five great Guns, and much Arms and Ammunition. These Garrisons now in the hands of those that could make good use of them, were of great importance to the reduction of *Munster*, and consequently of all *Ireland*.

The Lord Governour being now before *Waterford*, and seeing the City resolved to stand upon their own defence; it being now *December*, the weather also very wet, and his Forces weak, he draws them off into Winter-quarters, that they might be refreshed against the Spring, to finish the work so prosperously begun. Their quarters were at *Bandon-Bridge*; Col. *Ewer* and his Regiment, at *Kingsale*; Col. *Stubber* at *Cork*; Col. *Phaier* and Col. *Cook*, at *Wexford*; and *Tough* the Head quarters: in other places convenient for quick conjunction if occasion should serve, the Army was placed.

Now the Souldiery are taking their rest, we may look back a little upon some Actions which fell out since their leaving *Waterford*. No sooner was the Army marched away, but *Passage Fort* was besieged by a party from *Waterford*, and another from *Duncannon*, joyned together: but Col. *Zankey* setting upon them, routed the whole party, killing a great many, and carrying awak 350 prisoners. Many other Skirmishes were maintained with the like success: yet little comfort could be had in them, when the loss of Lieutenant General *Jones* was reflected upon; he died of a violent Fever at *Dungarven*, December 20. 1649. He was a man real to that trust which was reposed in him; a daring man, yet governing his Valour with discretion, which makes a good Souldier; not rash, but advised in all his attempts: a great loss he was to the Army, yet not all, for quickly after followed Col. *Wolf*, and Scout-Master General *Roe*. The Army had their share of this mortality: if the Commanders fall, how can it be expected the common Souldiers should escape free? But to salve up the business, continual supplies were sent by the Parliament from *England*, which made them, as it were, immortal: so that though many men were lost, their number was not diminished.

Whilst the Army lay in their quarters, *Cromwell* was not idle; he visited all the Garisons that were in his possession in *Munster*, and ordered all Affairs both Military and Civil. Coming to *King's*, the Mayor (as in other places) presented him with the Mace and Keys; which he kept (not returning

returning them again) and conferred the Office on another. This was looked upon the more, cause it had not been used by the Lord Governor, but the Mayor being an Irish man, and withal Papist, it was not thought fit to trust such a one with the Government of so considerable a place.

Now *Cromwel*, knowing that he which intended to do much business, must rise betimes, and had no opportunity; his Souldiers had not breathed in their winter-quarters fully two months, before he marched out of *Toughal* with about 3000 to enlarge his quarters: when they were in the field, he divided them into two parties; himself took one, the other was led by *Ireton*, who marched away to *Carrick*, there to reinforce himself by the conjunction of Col. *Reynolds*. They were to march into the Enemies quarters by several ways, and to meet together at a Rendezvous near *Kilkenny*; in order to this design *Cromwel* takes with him one party, and marches away over the *Blackwater* towards the Counties of *Limerick* and *Tipperary*. The first place he took was a Castle called *Kilkenny* upon the edge of the County of *Limerick*. afterwards in his march, fell on *Clogheen* House, and *Roghil*-Castle: here he passed the River *Sewer* with much difficulty, and immediately marched away to *Featherd*, a Garison-Town governed by one *Butler*: about ten at night they got into the Suburbs, and sent a Trumpet with a Summons to the Town; which at first was slighted; but they taking a resolution to stop, Commissioners were sent to treat, who agreed on Articles to deliver up the Town, and

away with their Arms. The taking of this place much refreshed the Army, who were tired with tempestuous weather.

Yet here they tarried not long, but removed to *Callyne*, a Garison of the Enemy about six miles from *Kilkenny*, where they joyned with *Ireton*, *Reynolds*, and *Zankey*, making up in all a considerable Body. The chief strength of *Callyne* consisted in three Castles that were in the Town; these the Souldiers stormed one after another, and carryed them all, putting all to the Sword they met with: this so terrified those that kept a House about a Musquet shot from the Town, that immediately they sent to desire liberty to march away to *Kilkenny*; which was granted. When the Souldiers had sufficiently recruited their Knapsacks with the provisions taken in the Town, they marched back again to *Featherd*; by the way, the two Castles of *Knottover* and *Bullynard* were reduced: presently after fell in *Kiltennon*, *Arfennon*, *Coker*, and *Dundrum*, very considerable places: in taking the latter, Colonel *Zankey* received a shot thorough the hand.

The Lord Governour *Cromwel* had now wholly subjugated all places of advantage, except *Limerick*, *Waterford*, *Clonmel*, *Galloway*, and *Kilkenny*: these were strong, and required much time; however, he resolves upon the last: but considering that the strength he had would not be sufficient to carry on the design, he sent for Col. *Huson*, to march speedily up to him with his Forces; which he did, and by the way took the Castle of *Loughin*; afterwards he joyns with the Lord Governours.

Governours Army near *Goram*, a populous Town, City strengthened by a strong Castle, which was commanded by Col. *Hammond* a Kentish man: to him was sent an invitation to deliver up the Castle; but he trusting to the Valour of his men, but which were *Ormonds* own Regiment, returned a very resolute answer; thereupon, the great Gun, three quickly roared out their perswasions, which made that him beat a Parley when 'twas too late; for no other conditions could now be obtained, but these: *That the common Souldiers should have their lives, and the Officers be disposed of as should be thought fit.* These sharp conditions being yielded unto, the next day, *Hammond*, his Major, and the rest of the Commission-Officers (all but one) and were shot to death; and the Priest that was Chaplain to the Catholicks in the Regiment hang'd ed.

This place being thus won, preparations were made for the besieging of the City of *Kilkenny*. This Garison required a more than ordinary Force to master it: for besides the Souldiers of the ordinary Garison there, to it had resorted all those that had yielded upon Articles the small Castles and Towns in that County. Yet this did not at all discourage *Cromwel*, whose imaginations comprehended all things that were not impossible; and scorning that this one place, though never so strong, should be a damm to stop the current of his Victories, *March 22. 1649*, he dislodged the Army, sending first of all a small party of Horse before upon discovery; quickly after came up the Body: within a mile of



City he made a stand, and sent the Governour  
Sir *Walter Butler*, and the Corporation, a summons  
to deliver up the City for the use of the Parliament  
of England. The next day an answer was returned,  
but not satisfactory: thereupon, the approaches  
were made near to the Wall, and a Battery of  
three Guns planted to play upon the best place  
that could be to annoy the besieged, and withal  
to open an entrance to the Besiegers. All  
this while, they within were not idle; but  
perceiving where the Lord *Cromwel* bent his  
greatest strength, they provide there to make  
the greatest opposition, by raising two Retrench-  
ments on the inside, strongly pallisadoing them,  
and placing some Pieces that might play to the  
best advantage: but above all, there was a crew  
of choice men that promised much. *Cromwell*  
noting delay, when his business required dispatch,  
caused the Guns to play; which had not made  
fully one hundred shot, before a breach was  
opened. While this was in doing, Col. *Ewers*  
with 1000 Foot was ordered to endeavour the  
possession of one part of the City, called *Irish-*  
*Town*: and the better to facilitate the enterprise,  
*Cromwel* gave the sign for the Souldiers to fall  
into the breach: which they had no sooner  
done, but they were beaten out again with loss;  
and so disheartned by it, that the storm was left off.  
Yet for all that, Col. *Ewers* carried the *Irish*  
*Town* with small loss, which made satisfaction for  
this affront. There being on the other side of the  
River another small Town, or Suburbs to the  
main City, it was thought fit to send eight com-

panies of Foot to possess it which was without any opposition. The gaining of encouraged them to endeavour to force a passage over the Bridge into the City; but it proved the same effect as at the breach before. these desperate attempts made the Governour fleet upon his condition; and the rather, cause the Garison in *Cantwel* Castle, whom he had sent for, desired Passes of the Lord Cromwel to go beyond Sea, to serve foraign Princes, in order to act nothing prejudicial to the Parliament *England*: which was granted them. That one thing that discouraged him; but chiefly that he must not only defend himself, but also must be his own relief, there being no Army in the field sufficient to do it; and withal the loss he held out, the worse it would be for him. These things considered, made him hearken to a Treaty which being once commenced, they soon concluded to deliver up the City and Castle upon the following terms.

1. *To deliver up the City and Castle to the Lord Cromwel, with all the Arms, Ammunition, and Military store.*

2. *The Inhabitants of Kilkenny to be protected in their Persons, Goods and Estates, from the violence of the Souldiery; and they that were desirous of service, to have liberty three Months after the date of the Articles.*

3. *The Governour, Officers and Souldiers to depart away with bag and baggage.*

4. *The City to pay 2000 pounds as a gratuity to the Excellency the Lord Cromwel's Army.*

Thus was the City of *Kilkenny* (which had been the seat of the supream Council, and the Center where the lines of all their pernicious devices met, the productions whereof had so malevolent an influence upon poor *Ireland*) brought under obedience in six days time, (for no longer the siege lasted) chiefly by the industry and indefatigable pains of the Lord *Cromwel*, who ever was a partaker with his Souldiers in their hardships, and never flincht from them at any time when need required his personal valour; insomuch, that at many places he laid by the dignity of a great Commander, to act the part of a private Souldier.

Here he tarried no longer a time than was requisite to settle the Affairs of the City; which having done he then marched the Army to *Carrick*, from thence to proceed upon further Action.

*Ormond*, *Castle-haven*, and the Bishop of *Clogher*, being now very sensible of the desperate condition their Affairs were reduced to, had a meeting at *Baltimore* in *Westmeath*; with the Gentlemen of that County, to confer about some better way to support that cause which hitherto they had so poorly defended. The chief heads of this Debate were :

1. Whether they were able to raise such Forces as might be sufficient to fight the Lord *Cromwel*, now they conceived his Men were much weakened by the Winter, and taking in of so many Garrisons. Or,
2. In case they were not able to fight, then with all the Forces they could make to fall into the English quarters, and there to burn and destroy what they could.

3. *If these two wayes were not feasible, whether it were not most convenient for them to joyn in some propositions of Pacification for the whole, or every one for himself, to make his particular application.*

This last was harkned to by some: but the chiefest of them knowing their own guilt, thought it not likely for them to get good conditions: now necessity compelled them to be Suppliants, and therefore to mischief the English in their quarters, was looked upon to be the safest way for them all, to spin out time, till they could find a fit opportunity to make an escape out of the Land.

The Lord *Cromwel* having well refresh'd himself after the Siege of *Kilkenny*, sits down before *Clonmel*, another strong place, Garisford, by 2000 Foot, and sixscore Horse. No fortification was the Leaguer planted, but Col. *Reynolds*, Sir *Theophilus Jones* were sent with 2500 Horse, Foot and Dragoons, to be before-hand with the Leaguer, *Clonmel*, *Castlehaven*, and those with them that intended an irruption into the English quarters; they shifting from place to place, to avoid fighting, Col. *Reynolds*, to keep his men from idleness, joyns his forces with Col. *Huson*, and sends two great Guns and a Mortar Piece, before *Trim*. Another party of 1400 Horse and Dragoons, and 1200 Foot, under the Lord *Brough* were sent to fight the Bishop of *Ross*, who with 5000 intended to relieve *Clonmel*. The Bishop's Miter being Metamorphosed into an Helmet, he thought verily to scare the Lord *Brough* with a strange

strangeness of the sight, being such a thing as he had never seen before, a Bishop that should be the Shepherd of a Flock, now to head an Army of Wolves : but the Lord *Broghil* getting to them, in little more time than one could say two or three Creeds, wholly dissipates them, killing upon the place between 6 and 700, taking 20 Captains, Lieutenants, and other Officers ; and to bring up the Rear, the Bishop himself was taken, with the Standard of the Church of *Munster*. The Lord *Broghil* having him now in his power, he carries him to a Castle defended by the Bishops Forces, and there hangs him up before the walls, in the sight of the Garison ; which wrought such terrour in them, that they delivered up the Castle upon Articles.

These successes of Parties abroad, did much encourage those that besieged *Clonmel* ; who now on all sides prepare to handle that Garison, as before they had done other places. And indeed, the Lord General used more than ordinary industry in reducing this Town, in regard he had been informed that its defendants were very unanimous, and that they were choice men, well armed, and every way sufficiently provided to make stout resistance : and besides, it was governed by an active Irish-man, one *Hugh Boy O Neal*, who had let all hands in the Town on work, to cast up new Counter-scarps on the inside of the old walls, and to do whatsoever else might serve for the defence of the place ; and had so travers'd the ground with Reintrenchments, that it was altogether impossible to gain it by assault ; nothing



nothing but Hunger (as was thought) could reduce it to obedience: but the active gallantry of the Lord *Cromwel* would not admit of that course: he us'd not to stand dallying before a place, (as the *Germans, French, and other Nations*) trifling out precious time, and expending vast sums to little or no purpose; and besides, upon many weighty considerations, this service required a quick dispatch, chiefly in regard of his expedition into *England*, whither he had lately been sent for by the Parliament there, to serve them in some other way. He therefore (without delay) orders all things for Storm, intending to try whether that would not either drown the enemy, or cool their courage, who were so hotly set upon the defence. The Governor being summoned to a rendition, and returning no satisfactory Answer, the great Guns were planted; which were managed so well, that they quickly opened a breach; which breach (upon a signal given) being courageously entred by the Assaultants, they within were not wanting to entertain them with a manful resistance, and to force their march any other way than over their own bodies: but *Cromwel's* men (who us'd not to be thus check'd in the career of their Successes) notwithstanding the Enemies valorous obstinacy, made good their ground, and maintained a fight for four hours together, which proved so hazardous, that the victory hovering betwixt both, was hard to say on which side it would light. (there being a great slaughter on both sides) at last, the Lord *Cromwel* (assisted by that good Providence which always attended him) decid-

the controversie, by forcing the enemy to quit the place, and betake themselves to flight, where-  
on though they were very much favoured by certain hills near the Town, yet could they not avoid the rage and fury of the victorious Soldiers, who in pursuit paid them home in their own coyn. Concerning this fight, I find it thus written by an eminent Commander in the Army, and an assistant in this encounter: *We found in Clonmel (saith he) the stoutest enemy that ever was found by our Army in Ireland: and it is my opinion, and very many more, that there was never seen so hot a storm of so long a continuance and so gallantly defended, neither in England nor Ireland.* The Reduction of this place (though at a hard hand) inclined many more to yield; which they did in a short time after, without striking a stroke.

These Atchievements being obtained, and care taken to secure what had been gotten, the Lord General addresses himself to his journey for England, having been in Ireland about ten months; viz. from the middle of *August* 1649. to the next *May* following, 1650. a time inconsiderable, respect had to the work done therein, which was more than ever could be done in ten years before, by any King or Queen of *England*. Queen *Elizabeth* indeed, after a long and tedious War there, at last drove out the Spaniards that came in to the assistance of the Rebellious Natives; but could never utterly extinguish the sparks of that Rebellion. And not only did the shortness of the time render the work admirable, but the nature of the work it self; it being against a most

obstinately desperate bloody enemy, people that had put themselves out of all hopes of favour or mercy, by acting the most bloody Tragedy that ever hath been seen or related, in that their universal Massacre of the English, yet recent in memory.

There remained now only *Limerick*, *Waterford* and some few inconsiderable Garisons, to be reduced; which being done, they might find leisure to hunt the wild *Irish*, who were fled for refuge among their Boggs. This was left to the charge of *Ireton*, whom the Lord Governour having constituted Lord *Deputy*, he takes leave of *Ireland*: and committing himself to the Sea, arrived safely (after a boisterous passage) at *Bristol*, where he was received with a thrice repeated Volley of great Guns, and other suitable demonstrations of Joy. Hence, without tarrying he posts for *London*: drawing near *Hounslow*-Heath he is there met by the Lord General *Fairfax* accompanied by many Members of Parliament and Officers of the Army, with multitudes that came out of curiosity to see him, of whom *Fairfax* had made such a loud report. Hence, after mutual salutations, congratulations, and other testimonies of high respect, he proceeds on, and passing near *Hide-park* corner, he is saluted with great Guns, and several Volleys of small Shot, by *Colonel Barkstead's* Regiment, which was drawn up in the High-way for that purpose. Continuing thus the march, (multitudes increasing to behold him) the Lord *Cromwel* is conducted to the house called the *Cock-pit*, near *St. James's*, which had been appointed and prepared for him. Here he

assisted by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, and by many other persons of quality, all of them expressing their own and the Nations great obligations to him for his great Services in *Ireland*. After some time of respite and refreshment, he attended his charge in Parliament, where the Speaker in an elegant Speech gave him the thanks of the House. Which being ended, the Lord *Cromwel* gave them an account of the present state of *Ireland*, and of the condition of their Forces both in Field and Garison, with what designs they were now upon; what strength the Enemy had, and what Garisons were then in their power.

The Parliament being thus assured of the hopeful condition of *Ireland*, began now wisely to provide for the security of the peace of *England*, which was now in danger of disturbance, partly by open Hostility, and partly by the under hand dealing of some pretended friends. *Portugal* protects Prince *Rupert's* Fleet, notwithstanding the League: *France* domineers at Sea, making prize of all the English they could bring under their power. About this time, the Parliament sends Dr. *Dorilus* (who drew up the Charge against *Charles* the 1.) as an Agent to the States of the United Provinces, for the begetting and continuance of a right understanding and fair correspondence betwixt the two Republicks; where, not long after his arrival, he was basely slain by six assassins, who rushed into his lodgings at the *Hague* indiguisse, and escaped unpunished, although the States pretended they had used their utmost endeavour

endeavour to take them. In *Russia*, the English Merchants were much affronted by that Duke, by reason of his adherence to the King's side. *Virginia* and the *Caribes* Islands revolted from their obedience to the Parliament, being very hot for Monarchy and the Liturgie. Nearer home, *Scilly*, *Fersey*, and the *Isle of Man*, stand out, and miserably infest the Seas with their Piracy. But above all, the Scots were the most formidable, who seemed to set their wits on the tenters, that so they might embroyl *England* in new troubles, and thereby have opportunity to work their ends upon it. To this end a Treaty is commenced betwixt them and His now Majesty *Charles II.* at *Breda*, a famous Town in the Netherlands belonging to the Prince of *Orange*. Here they propose,

1. That his Majesty recal and disclaim all Commissions and Declarations granted by him to the prejudice of the Covenant.

2. That he acknowledg their present Parliament, and the two last Sessions thoreof, and allow of the Acts made therein.

3. They remonstrate the Motives contained in the eleventh Instruction; meaning *Uxbridge-Treaty*.

4. That as soon as he comes into Scotland, and before his admission to the exercise of Royal power, he shall swear, subscribe, and seal the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant.

The King having assented, and promised *verbo Principis* to perform these things; the Commissioners had order to let him see the *Corona*



tion Oath he was to take; which he approving, they were to invite him into *Scotland*, assuring him that he should be entertained there with all due respect.

To all which things the King at last condescended, partly by the perswasion of the Prince of *Orange*, (at whose cost and charges the Treaty was both begun and continued) and partly, upon hopes that by this means he might gain the easier footing in *England*.

The Scots being now impatient of the injoyment of their Kings presence; he, in order to their satisfaction herein, hastes from *Breda* towards the *Hague*, and from thence to *Scheveling*, where he took shipping, and not long after, landed (notwithstanding several snares laid for him) at the *Spey* in the North of *Scotland*.

The Parliament in *England* were not ignorant of these things; they having faithful Scouts abroad in the World, who failed not to give them timely notice of the machinations of their enemies in all quarters. And taking the matter into consideration in the House, a great debate there was, Whether the War (for, that there must be a war betwixt us and our dear brethren, was taken for granted) should be *Offensive* or *Defensive*. As to the later, (the Defensive part) they were very sensible of the havock the Scots had formerly made in the North of *England*, when they came in as friends; so that should they be suffered to come in as enemies, nothing could be expected to follow, but ruine and desolation wheresoever they came. *Hamilton's* Invasion likewise stuck

stuck in their stomachs, and the devastation that accompanied it. Besides, it was considered that to let them give the first blow, had been to make our own Countrey the seat of war; and thereby an opportunity would be given to discontented Spirits here (which then were not a few) to joyne with the enemy. Upon these and other weighty considerations, the Parliament resolves upon an Offensive war, and to alarm them in their own Quarters. This Resolution was thought most advantagious, in many respects: as,

1. *Scotland* (the Enemies Countrey) must needs be much impoverished, by being burthened with two Armies, when it could not well maintain one; and *England* would be quit of much fear and calamity incident to quartering of Armies. Besides, in all encounters, it is good policie to keep an adversary at the arms end.

2. By invading *Scotland* the Souldiery would be much encouraged, in respect of the benefit might accrue to them by the spoils of their enemies. Hereby also the territories of this Commonwealth were likely to be enlarged.

3. The Scots Levies were not yet finished, nor their Army compleated, so that a sudden march might nip them in the bud, and prevent their further increase.

4. It was necessary to have a special regard to, and watchful eye upon *Scotland*, because (by reason of its contiguity) no Enemy could be so noxious to *England* as it: and how ready they have been to lay hold on all opportunities to disturb the peace of *England*, frequent examples

testifie,

testifie, both of former and later times. And unless that back-door were pinn'd up, as great mischiefs were like to be let in thereby, now as ever.

In order therefore to their former Resolutions, the Parliament provide for a war; they order the Army to march Northwards, to sit upon the Skirts of the Scots. But Sir *Thos. Fairfax* (their General at that time) being it seems not satisfied in the thing, (as many others likewise were not) desired to be excused, and laid down his Commission. His scruple arose from the obligation of the National Covenant, which he conceived permitted not to make War on the brethren in *Scotland*. This Action of his bred consternation in most, and several descants were given thereupon: the Plebeian rout (whose tribunal nothing of moment can pass) judged the reason to be, that he durst not venture to abide the gust of those northern blasts. But wise men know how much vulgar bruits are to be heeded; and that notwithstanding what was said then, or can be said now, the Trumpet of his fame shall not be put to silence; nor shall Time it self be able to wipe his name into oblivion.

The Parliament being thus disappointed, are to seek for a General to command their Army; but for that they need not go far, since they had then amongst them the most renowned *Cromwel*, of whose prowess and faithfulness they had had manifold experience, and who, upon their request, did accept of the Charge: upon which they gave him a Commission, thereby empowering him to command all the Forces raised

ed and to be raised in the Common-wealth  
*England*; annulling all Commissions formerly granted to the Lord *Fairfax*.

*Cromwel* being thus invested with power, presently addressees to the work; and in order therunto, he took his journey towards the Army in the North, *June 28. 1650.* As he passed, great demonstrations of respect were given him by the generality of the people. *July 4.* he arrived at *York*, attended by many great Officers of the Army. No sooner was he entered that City, but the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs gave him an invitation to a stately Dinner, expressing how much they joyed in the presence of so renowned an Hero. But he remembring that it was fighting and not feasting that he came about, tarried there no longer than to order supplies for the Army, and expedite their Rendezvous.

By this time, the Committee of Estates in *Scotland* was alarmed, insomuch that they were frightened into an Expostulation with the Parliament, thinking thereby to protract time, till their Levies were perfected: to that end, they sent a Letter to the Speaker by Col. Grey, to this effect.

That they wondred at the report of the English Armies advance towards their Nation, and that many of their Ships were seized and secured by the English contrary to the Act of Pacification in the late Treaty, which provided that no acts of Hostility should be used against each other, without three months warning beforehand; and that those Forces which they were raising, were only for their own defence, and therefore they desired to know if the Forces of England

England now on their march Northward, were intended for Offence or Defence; to guard their own borders, or invade Scotland.

Papers of like import were also sent to the Governour of *Newcastle*, Major Gen. *Lambert*, and the Lord General *Cromwel*. The Parliament answered them by a Declaration shewing the Grounds and Reasons of their Armies advance, with the equity and necessity thereof. Their Grounds and Reasons were these.

1. 'For that the Scots endeavoured to seduce the people of the Commonwealth of *England* from their affection and duty to the Parliament, and to promote the interest of the late King, under pretence of the Covenant.

2. 'In that they took *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, and put Garisons into them, in the year 1648. contrary to the large Treaty in 1640. and this done by the Parliament of *Scotland*, even whilst English Commissioners were at *Edenburgh*, offering to endeavour the composing of all differences betwixt the Nations by a Treaty; which they refused.

But forasmuch as every quarrel that is lawful, is not necessary, (for in some cases injuries are to be passed by, or at least to be composed by Treaty:) therefore they proceed to declare the Necessity also of their present Expedition; which they thus grounded.

'All reparations of the damages done by the Scots in their late Invasion, have been denied to be given in a fair way by their Parliament: where- by they have owned the wrongs done thereby.

'That



‘ That they have a design again to invade  
 ‘ which appears thus :

1. ‘ In that, upon the English their demand  
 ‘ a Treaty for satisfaction of the injuries done  
 ‘ their late Invasion, they in exprefs terms declare  
 ‘ themselves enemies to this commonwealth.

2. ‘ In that, although they could not claim  
 ‘ themselves any Authority or Dominion over  
 ‘ yet in *Scotland* they proclaimed *Charles Stuart*  
 ‘ to be King of *England* and *Ireland*; and since  
 ‘ that, promised to assist him against this Common  
 ‘ wealth.

3. ‘ In that, when upon preparation in *Scotland*  
 ‘ for *Hamiltons* Invasion of *England*, the Parliament  
 ‘ of *England* sent Commissioners to treat of an Ar  
 ‘ commodation, to prevent effusion of blood; the  
 ‘ declined the Treaty, and instead thereof  
 ‘ Army speedily marched into *England*.

4. ‘ In that they declared against the Engli  
 ‘ Parliament and Army as Sectaries, ranking the  
 ‘ with Malignants and Papists.

These provocations being intolerable, and a  
 satisfaction being to be had, but what the Sw  
 must procure; the Parliament resolve upon the  
 course, whereby (seeing no other expedient cou  
 effect it) to vindicate the Nations honour, and  
 secure it against the like insolences for the tim  
 to come.

This Declaration was quickly seconded by a  
 other from the Lord General and his Army  
 which they directed to the well affected in *Scotland*  
 and was to this effect.

‘That they being to advance into *Scotland*, for the ends exprest in the Parliaments Declaration of *June 26.* and considering the practices of some in that Kingdom, whose designs are by unjust reproaches and false slanders to make the Army odious, and render them to be rather monsters than men: therefore, to clear themselves, they could do no otherwise than reminde them of their behaviour when they were before in *Scotland*; what injury or wrong was then done either to the persons, houses, or goods of any? Considering this, it was hoped that such their former demeanour would not be forgotten, nor the present reports affright the people from their habitations.

To satisfie them further, the Lord General and the Army declared (from the integrity of their hearts) ‘That such of the Gentry and Commonalty as inhabit where the Army may come, they being none of those who by their counsels laid the foundation of a second Invasion, or closed with him who hath endeavoured to ingage foreign Princes against the Commonwealth of *England*, and hath exercised actual Hostility, by Commissionating Pirates to spoil the ships and goods belonging thereto; to these, not the least violence or injury should be offered either in body or goods; or if any should happen, that upon complaint made, redress and satisfaction should immediately be had. Wherefore they desire all persons to abide in their habitations, assuring them to enjoy what they had without disturbance.

## *His Wars in Ireland.*

No sooner was this penned, but copies thereof were sent into *Scotland*; and the Countrey-people that kept Market at *Berwick*, had their pockets stuffed with them, to carry home and disperse among their neighbours.

What good effects this course produced, we shall see hereafter, when the Army enters the borders.

The Lord General having used this expedient to undeceive the Scots, and to procure the good opinion of him and his Army; considering that all would not be convinced thereby; that the Sword, not the Pen, must perswade many of the wherefore he leaves *York*, and hastes to *Newcastle*, and then the next day to *Darnton*. As he pass'd by this place, the Train of Artillery (which was quartered here) saluted him with seven pieces of Ordnance. Coming next to *Newcastle*, the Governour Sir *Arthur Haslerig* received him with noble entertainment. Here the Lord General and the Officers of his Army in a solemn manner implored a blessing from Heaven upon their present Expedition. After which, upon due consideration of the affairs of the Army, he settled a way for their supply from time to time with provisions. This business being dispatched and the general Rendezvous appointed, the Lord General leaves *Newcastle*, and posts for *Berwick*. His Forces being all come up, he caused a general Rendezvous of them to be on *Haggerston Moor*, four miles from *Berwick*. July 20. 1650. the whole Army was drawn into the Field; which was no sooner done, but the General him

came among them, being received with shouting  
and other signs of joy. Having well view'd  
them, he caus'd both Horse and Foot to be drawn  
up in *Battalia*. Which being done, there ap-  
peared a gallant body of Horse, consisting of  
1415, bestrid by as many stout and courageous  
riders; eight compleat Regiments of Foot, con-  
sisting (with their Officers) of 10249; with the  
Train of Artillery, which consisted of 690: so  
that the Army in the whole, consisted of 16354.  
A sight most lovely, and very desireable, to see  
such an Army of men, (gallantly accoutred, and  
provided with all necessaries) who for approved  
valour are not to be equall'd; commanded by a  
General, whom no example ancient or modern  
can parallel, for Courage and Conduct: in a  
word, he was honoured in his Army, and they  
happy in their General. Being thus in *Battalia*,  
the General marcheth them about an hundred paces  
towards *Berwick*, and so dismissed them to their  
quarters on the brink of *Tweed*, where we shall  
leave them for the present expecting their further  
advance.

## His Wars in S C O T L A N D

**O**ccasion might here be taken to admire at the long continued separation that hath been betwixt *England* and *Scotland*: that notwithstanding they are cohabitants of the same Island; yet they should continue distinct Kingdoms for so many Ages together. For whereas divers Kingdoms having inferiour Dominions in them, loon subjected them to their own Rule, (as in *Spain*, where many Kingdoms are concorporated into one; and in our own Nation, where the Saxon Heptarchy was long since reduced into a Monarchy) yet *England* and *Scotland* could never be united under one Head, till the Crown of *England* devolved upon King *James*.

Many attempts have been made by several English Kings, to reduce *Scotland* to their obedience. *Edward 2.* (a King whose greatest honour was, to be the son of an Heroick father, and father to an incomparable son) unfortunately fought the Battel at *Bannocks* in *Scotland*, where (as *Holshed* relates) was lost *Gilbert de Clare* Earl of *Gloucester*, 40 Barons, 700 Knights and Gentlemen and about 40000 others. This defeat was greater even the greatest that ever the English received at one time from that Nation. But in hopes to wipe away this blur, and to salve up this wound the King raised two great Armies for that purpose.



pose; but with no better success: for the first of his Armies was lost for want of courage to fight, the last for want of food, was forced to retire, and in their retreat lost all their Amunition. But what else could be expected from a pusillanimous King, who was observed in the former Battel to be the first that fled? for it could not be expected that the Souldiers should stand, they being bound to follow their leader.

To reckon up all the Rencounters that have happened betwixt the two Nations, would be too tedious, and stretch this discourse beyond its intended length. Yet I shall wade a little in these plashes, before I plunge into the Ocean of *Cromwells* Conquests.

*Henry* the seventh, a wise and valiant Prince, was much disturbed by those two Impostors *Perkin Warbeck* and *Lambert Simnel*. *Warbeck*'s quarrel was espoused by the Scots, but to little purpose: for a Peace was soon concluded betwixt the two Kings, on condition that *Warbeck* should be sent packing, and that *James* the fourth the Scots King should marry the Lady *Margaret K. Henry's* daughter. Great debate was in the Council about this Match: some were against it, alledging, that in case the Kings issue should fail, *England* would become subject to *Scotl*. But to this the K. wisely returned, that the weaker must ever bow to the stronger; and *England* being the stronger, *Scotland* must submit. This was but discourse: for it could not be then imagin'd, (the K. having two hopeful sons, *Arthur* and *Henry*) that the Lady *Margaret* should be the Royal Stem from whence should spring those Noble branches

which were to overspread both Nations, afterwards came to pass in King *James*. notwithstanding the Alliance made by the Marriage, in the dayes of King *Henry* the eight (while he was busied with his Wars in *France*) the Scots invade *England*, and were encountered by the Earl of *Surrey* at *Flodden* Field, where success remained doubtful a great while: but last, the victory fell to the English, who that day slew the Scots King, the Bishop of *St. Andrew*, 12 Earls, 14 Barons, and 12000 Gentlemen and common Souldiers; only with the loss of 1500. At so easy a rate was this great Victory purchased. By this and several other Blows, King *Henry* got many of the Scottish Nobility into custody. And considering how their frequent incursions did impede and frustrate his designs abroad, he thought it expedient to use a method to beget amity betwixt the Nations; to which end he propounded a Match betwixt his son *Edward*, and *Mary* the young Princess of *Scotland*. This motion found so good acceptance at first, that it was concluded upon, and ratified by Act of Parliament, with a special Instrument under the hands of the Scottish Nobility; who by these means having gotten their liberty from restraint, soon after quit themselves of their former engagement, and espoused their young Lady to the Dolphin of *France*: which so enraged our young King *Edward* the sixth, (his father *Henry* being dead) that he resolved,

*Seeing the Foxes skin could not prevail,  
To piece it with the Lyons taylor.*

And to that end, sends an Army under the Duke of Somerset into Scotland, to avenge himself on them for their perfidious dealing. This Army exceeded not 18000 in number; (too small in appearance to deal with a whole Kingdom:) but greatness of courage supplying the paucity of their number, they encountred the Scots near *Muscleborough*, where (notwithstanding they doubted the English in multitude, besides 3000 Monks, Fryers and Kirk-men, armed both with Word and Sword) they got the day, and obtained a most compleat Victory. But while they beat the bush, the bird was flown into *France*.

Here many of the Scottish Nobility were taken prisoners; one of which being brought to the English General, and asked by him how he liked the Match, answered wittily, *Very well, but not in that manner of wooing.*

This Battel, and that of *Flodden-field*, (four and thirty years before) were both fought upon the Ninth of September; as afterwards those of *Worcester* and *Dunbar* were both upon the Third of the same month; so that that month seems to be more ominous to the Scottish Nation, than any in the whole Kalender.

This Digression hath been made, only to shew what endeavours there have been all along to unite these Kingdoms under one Head: but nothing would effect it, until King *James* came in by succession, he being son to that Queen *Mary* formerly espoused to *Edward* the sixth.

By this means, the Scots begin to play (as we have heard in part already: ) but and by whom they were reduced under the obedience and subjection of the English, is our work to shew; they being (as sings ingenious Waller's Panegyrick )

*A Race unconquer'd, by their Clime made bold,  
The Caledonians arm'd with want and cold,  
Have by a Fate indulgent to his fame,  
Been, from all ages, kept for him to tame:  
Whom the old Roman wall so ill confin'd,  
With a new Chain of Garisons he binde.*

*Here forraign Gold no more shall make them come  
For Cromwel's Iron holds them fast at home.*

Cromwel was the man by whom this stupendous work was wrought, who being now constituted Generalissimo for the Parliament of England (as we have seen before ) made this improvement of his new honour, adding this Conquest to his former Heroick atchievements. And what he observed in the carrying on of this business we shall now relate, beginning where we left off before.

The Army being come up all together in body, and quartered upon the very edge of Scotland (as afore is shewed) on July 22. 1650. the Lord General drew them forth to a Rendezvous upon a hill within Berwick bounds, from whence they had a full view of the adjacent parts of Scotland, the Stage whereon they were to act their parts in the ensuing Tragedies. Here he made a Speech to his Souldiers, exhorting them to be faithful and courageous; and then not to doubt of a blessing

from God, and all encouragement from himself: which was answered with loud and unanimous Acclamation from them; who going thus chearfully about their work, it was the more likely to prosper in their hands, as indeed it did.

Upon this, the Lord General marches his Army into *Scotland*, quartering them that night in the field near *Mordington*; where he caused it to be proclaimed thorowout the Camp, (for the better conservation of good order and discipline) That none on pain of death should offer violence or injury to the persons or goods of any in *Scotland* and not in Arms; and withal, That no Souldier should presume (without special licence) to straggle half a mile from the Army. Hence they dislodge for *Copperspeith*; thence to *Dunbar*, where they are recruited with provisions from the English ships sent thither for that purpose; the Countrey affording them none: for the Scotch Estates had taken a course beforehand, to sweep all the Countrey betwixt *Berwick* and *Edenburgh*, of all things that might yield any comfort or succour to the English.

But this entertainment was not at all strange to the English, it being but what they expected; neither did it in the least appal or discourage them. Their next remove is to *Hadington*, twelve miles from *Edenburgh*: and all this, without the least opposition, not seeing all this while the face of an Enemy in Arms. But although they could not be seen, yet they were heard of, giving out that they would meet the English at *Gladsmore*. The Lord General prepared to meet them accordingly;



dingly; and knowing his adversary exceeded him in number, he laboured to possess the Moor before them, to gain the advantage of ground, case they should meet him; which it seems they never intended, having no great stomach to fight. Upon this, Major-General *Lambert* and Colonel *Whalley* (men of approved courage and Valour with 1400 Horse, were sent as a Van-guard to *Muscleborough*: Major *Hayns* commanding the Foot, fac'd the Scots within a mile of their Trenches. The next day, the Lord General with the main Body drew up before *Edenburgh*, where some bickering happened about the possession of *King Arthur's Hill*, a place within a mile of the City; which the English obtained, and soon after possess themselves of a Church, and certain houses. But notwithstanding all these provocations, the Scots would not forsake their Trenches, but lay upon the catch: and according to the Proverb, *Harm watch, harm catch*, so it fell out with them. For the Lord General seeing no good to be done this way, and that his Army was much wearied out with hard duty and continual rain, drawing off to *Muscleborough*, there to refresh and recruit his men with provisions, the Scots would needs have one snap at parting, and to that end came powdering down upon the last Reserve of the English Rere-guard, and had like to have over-run them: but Major-General *Lambert*, and Colonel *Whalley*, with his Regiment came in to their rescue, routing the Scots, and pursuing them to their Trenches.

In this Encounter *Lambert* had his horse kill'd under him, and received two wounds; and the rest came not off altogether Scot-free; for they left behind them one Lieutenant-Colonel, one Major, and some Captains, with a few private Soldiers for company. By this defeat, the English had an opportunity to March of quietly to *Muscleborough* that night, although in a wet and weary condition, expecting also every moment to be set upon, as indeed at last they were: for *Col. Straughan* and *Montgomery* very slyly followed them in the Rere with the Kirk's Regiment of Horse, and some others, to the number of 1500. all armed with Backs, Breasts, Head pieces, Pistols, Swords and Lances; as if they had intended to inflict some strange new-fashion'd deaths upon the English.

July 30. about three or four in the morning, *Straughan* gave a furious Camisado on a Body of the English in their quarters; which being sudden, did somewhat disorder a Regiment of Horse: but the Alarm being given, raised so many English spirits, that soon frightened away the Scots, pursuing them to their own homes. In this encounter were killed and taken about 200 with seven Officers of quality: *Straughan* himself, because he could manage his Horse no better, was fain to trip it on foot to *Edenburgh* with shame enough.

Here the Lord General, to let the Scots see what a generous Enemy they had to deal withal, discharged the chiefest of the prisoners taken, and sent them to *Edenburgh* in his own Coach: which not only begot him great applause, but tended much to the rectification of those who had

had harboured so much prejudice against him, by reason of those strange reports broached of his pretended cruelty.

Now the Armies provisions being well nigh spent they retire again to *Dunbar*, there to renew their supplies from the Ships attending for that purpose by order from the English Parliament ; who knowing victuals to be the life of War, (money being only the sinews ) took care to provide a continued course of Recruits.

After convenient supply and refreshment, they returned immediately towards *Edenburgh*, to accompany the Scots in their Rejoicing, they being then very seriously keeping a solemn Thanksgiving for their supposed great deliverance ; imagining that the English Army was quite gone ; as if they had come only to see how they did, or whether *Edenburgh* stood where it did when they were there last. This unexpected visit spoiled their sport, and made them change their note, notwithstanding the presence of the King, then but newly come thither from *St. Johnstons*.

About this time, the General Assembly (with *David Lesley* their General) sent to the Lord General *Cromwel* a Declaration (as *Lesley* call'd it) containing the state of the Quarrel in which they were to fight, (as if they had such a mind to it) desiring that this their Declaration might be publicly known. Whether their request were fulfilled then or no, I know not ; I shall so far gratify them now, as to endeavour the same, by reciting it briefly, as followeth.

**T**Hat the General Assembly considering there must be just grounds of stumbling, from the Kings Majesties refusing to subscribe the Declaration concerning his former carriage, and resolutions for the future in reference to the Cause of God, the enemies and friends thereof; doth therefore declare, that the Kirk and Kingdom will not own any Malignant party their quarrel or interest, but that they will fight upon their former Principles, for the Cause of God, and their Kingdom: and therefore as they disclaim all the sin and guilt of the King and his House, so they will not own him nor his Interest, any further than he shall disclaim his and his fathers opposition to the work of God, and the enemies thereof: And withal, that they would with convenient speed consider of the Papers sent to them from Oliver Cromwel, and vindicate themselves from the falshoods contained therein.

Very short, but not very sweet; it carries a sting in its tayl. The imputation of falshood might much more justly and properly have been kep: at home, all things considered. The Lord General Cromwel returns them this Answer:

**T**Hat the Army continued the same they had professd themselves to the honest people of Scotland, wishing to them as to their own souls; it being no part of their business to hinder them in the Worship of God according to their Consciences, as by his Word they ought: And that they should be ready to perform what obligation lay upon them by the Covenant. But that under the pretence of the Covenant mistaken, a King should be taken in by them, and imposed

imposed on the English, and this called, The Cause of God and the Kingdom; and this done upon the satisfaction of Gods people in both Nations, as alleged, together with a disowning of Malignants, though the Head of them be received, who at the very instant hath a party fighting in Ireland, and Prince Rupert at Sea on a Malignant account, the French and Irish ships daily making depredations upon the English coasts, and all by vertue of his Commission: and therefore the Army cannot believe, that whilst Malignants were fighting and plotting against them on the one side, the Scots declaring for him on the other, should not be an espousing of a Malignant Interest or Quarrel, but a meer fighting on former Grounds and Principles. If the state of the Quarrel be thus, and you say you resolve to fight the Army, you will have opportunity to do that, else what means our abode here? And our hope is in the Lord, &c.

Thus the cause of the War was stated, as if the Scots had been ignorant of the grounds and reasons of the English Armies coming into their Country. Now there remains nothing but fighting: and how well they quit themselves therein, is next to be shewn.

The Lord General seeing that by no means he could provoke the Enemy to an engagement, (having sufficiently victualled his men at *Muscleborough*) Aug. 17. 1650, he advanced, and pitched his Camp on *Penlands Hills*. In this march, the Scots drew forth several Bodies of Horse, and faced the English: but they were so wary and



keep out of harms way, not coming within Gun-shot. The Army having taken up their quarters on the hills, two Troops of Dragoons are sent out, to dispossess the enemy of *Collington-House*. About this time, a Serjeant of Col. *Cox's* Regiment (with three others his associates) was called to account for plundering a house, and stealing a Cloak : which being proved, the Serjeant was condemned to be hang'd; and, notwithstanding the scarcity of trees in those parts, the Sentence was executed on him, for an example to others. The other three Souldiers found mercy, and obtained pardon. So careful was the General to preserve the Country, according as he had promis'd them before in his Declaration.

Then the Scots drew forth on the west side of *Edenburgh*, between the River *Leith* and the Sea, to the number of two or three thousand Horse; conceiving the Army intended to possess a pass over the said River. Which the Lord General seeing, he drew forth a Forlorn to engage them, himself in person leading, to shew the Scots his readiness to fight them. Approaching near to their Body, one that knew the Lord General fired a Carbine at him, but timerously : which he seeing, called out and told him, That if he had been one of his Souldiers, he should have been cashier'd, for firing at that distance. But the truth is, these daring actions in Generals, favour more of valour than discretion : Bullets distinguish not betwixt the meanest private Souldier, and the most puissant General, if he come in their way. Hence it was, that the people would not suffer

suffer *David* to go out in person. 'Twas upon an over bold discovery of *Popinham's* strength that *Gustavus Adolphus* ( the Scourge of the Austrians ) was killed, and with him the hopes of those great things expected from him. The Head of an Army ( such is the General ) being once cut off, the Body ( especially in an enemies Countrey ) must needs languish and pine away.

The Scots having done their business, which seems was only to breath their horses, they returned back again to their Quarters.

Aug. 19. part of the English Army stormed *Red-Hall*, and took it ; it being a Garison situated within a mile and a half of *Edenburgh*, having about 80 Foot to defend it. This was done in the sight of the Scots whole Army, yet not a man stirred towards the relief of the place.

Aug. 26. the Scots sent to the Lord General desiring a Conference betwixt some of themselves, and some Officers appointed by him. Which being granted, and a convenient place appointed, the Lord *Wariston* Secretary of State, Sir *John Brown*, Colonel *Straughan*, and Mr. *Dowglas* Minister, with certain others, attended for that purpose. The main business of their Meeting was to wipe off a pretended aspersion cast upon them, and spread over both Armies, intimating that they kept themselves in Trenches and holes, not daring to fight. And the better to clear themselves of these calumnies, they let the English know, That when opportunity served, should be seen that they wanted not courage, give them Battel.

The next morning, the Scots (as if they meant to be as good as their words; which had they been, they had cross'd a very ancient Proverb) strike up for a march, seeming either to bend their course for *Sterling*, or as if they would in good earnest (according to the purport of the Embassage they had sent the day before, lest it should not be known) fight the English.

No sooner are they on their march, but the Lord General prepares to meet them, thinking that although they had often dallied with him before, yet now surely they would be serious, and shew some fair play. The common souldiers were possess'd with the like apprehensions, being overjoy'd at the very thoughts of fighting; and in order thereunto, they presently take down their Tents, lay aside their Knapfacks, and disburthen themselves of every thing whatsoever that might be an impediment to their activity.

Being thus prepared, the English approach the Scots Army, verily intending to engage them: but it seems they had no mind to come to it, but rather to shelter themselves in some new lurking hole, (notwithstanding their late confident disclaiming of any such practice.) Accordingly, when the English drew near the Enemy, they found a great Bog and a deep Ditch to make such a separation, as for the present cut off all possibility of conjunction with them, and consequently of engaging them, without running such hazards as were not necessary at that time. The Lord General seeing he could not come at them in person, sent a thundring message to them by the mouth of his Cannon.

H

All

All that night, both the Armies continued Arms; and the next morning, being the 28 *August*, the great Guns roared on both sides, about the space of an hour. But the English General seeing that this would do no good, and knowing that it would but waste precious time to no purpose, to stand pelting at an enemy at that distance, therefore drew off from thence to try some other conclusion, if by any means he might get the enemy into a fair field, where the business might be disputed on equal terms. In order to which, marching towards their former Quarters on *Pencland* hills, no sooner were they there arrived, but news came that the Scots were upon their march to possess *Muscleborough* and *Preston-pans*, whereby to cut off provisions from the English Army. The Souldiers hearing this begin to bestir themselves; and again taking down their Tents, take up their Arms; holding it to be high time so to do, considering that now they must either fight or starve.

To prevent the Enemies design, the Lord General advanced that night with his whole Army towards *Muscleborough*, it being very stormy and tempestuous weather, without any molestation from the enemy. Being there they are supplied from the Ships: and many of them being injured and diseased by reason of hard duty, and unseasonable weather, 500 were sent on board; which yet did not clear the Army of those distempers.

The enemy all this while dogging the English in the Rere, watched all opportunities to discom-

them. But the Lord General taking into consideration the sad condition of his Army, occasioned by sickness and indisposition of body, resolves to retreat with them to *Dunbar*, and there (by Garisoning it) to lie securely for some time, till they might recover strength, and receive convenient recruits both of Horse and Foot from *Berwick*.

In pursuance of this resolution, the Army (*Aug. 30.*) set forward toward *Haddington*. And by that time the Van-Brigade of Horse had taken up their quarters, the Scots (by a nimble march) were fallen in the Rear, and put them into disorder: But wanting courage to prosecute the advantage, and withal, a cloud overshadowing the Moon, gave the English Horse an opportunity to inextricate themselves of that Labyrinth wherein they had like to have been entangled, and to recover the main Body.

Being at *Haddington*, in danger to be assaulted daily by the Enemy, the Lord General caused a strict Watch to be kept, to prevent the worst. For the Scots were sufficiently sensible of the crazy condition of the Army, and though they had now an opportunity to distress them, (they acting the Offensive part) and that by degrees they should weary them out, and at last utterly destroy them: and to that end, (conceiving that now they had a more than ordinary advantage) about midnight, *Aug. 30.* they attempted the English quarters on the west-end of the Town. But notwithstanding their confidence, they were soon set further off.



The next day, the Lord General draws out to the open Champaign on the South side of the Town, resolving (notwithstanding the indisposition of body in his Army) to venture all upon the event of a Battel. But the Scots having no mind to that sport, therefore (after three hours tarryance in expectation of their coming, all in vain) the English prosecute their fore-intended march for *Dunbar*.

The Scots being re-inforced with the addition of three Regiments, yet again came in the Rear of the English; and seeing them lodg'd in *Dunbar*, gathered upon the adjacent Hills like a thick cloud menacing such a showre to the English, as would wash them out of their Countrey, if not out of the World: and to make sure work, they being well acquainted with the Countrey, set a strong Guard at the pass at *Copperspeith*, (a place where ten stout men may obstruct the passage of forty) thereby to intercept or hinder all provisions or relief from *Berwick*, or perhaps to hinder the English from running away, lest any thing should be wanting to compleat their (imagined) near approaching Victory. For they boasted they had them in a worse pound, than the

King had the Earl of *Essex* at *Lestubine* in *Cornwal*: and (as a late ingenious \* R. H. his discourse of England. \* Author hath it, writing upon the subject) *From those Hills that encompass*

*this sickly remnant, and which they had possessed themselves of, look down on the English as their sure prey. But (as the same Author goes on) how much better had they done, had they levelled those mountains which*

*surround*

*surrounded their wretched enemies, and which proved such slight defences against a vertue backt with necessity, and so made them an easier passage to their homes, who by reason of their sickness did very much want it?*

And no marvel the Scots were thus confident. For besides that they were stout and hearty, in their own Countrey, and upon advantagious ground, (in all which respects the English were at a loss) they doubled the English in number; they being 6000 Horse and 16000 Foot, whereas the other were but 7500 Foot and 3500 Horse. Two to one is great odds; and yet (as the case then stood) they must either fight manfully, or tamely give up themselves a prey to their insulting Enemy; which the English not having been accustomed to do, knew not how to begin now. Neither did all these straits, difficulties and disadvantages in the least dismay the Lord General, who as a Rock remained immoveable in this Sea of dangers; and who, considering that the present necessity required more than an ordinary courage, and that this must be his Master-piece or Misfortune, after he had well view'd the Enemy, and found that they had drawn down about two thirds of their Left Wing of Horse to the Right, causing them to edge down toward the Sea, shogging also their Foot and Train to the Right, (a posture not well to be understood, unless it were by this means to make short work, and to catch the English as it were in a Purse net) saw that it was no time to use many words, and that small debates must produce great actions: and therefore after a short consultation had with

his chief Officers, it was concluded to take for a course as might let the enemy see it was vain for them to go about to abridge them their liberty by any power or policy that they could use.

The better to do this, the Lord General drew forth six Regiments of Horse, with three Regiments and an half of Foot, to march in the Van the Horse were commanded by Major General *Lambert*, and Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*; the Foot, by Commissary-General *Whalley*, and Colonel *Monk*. To second these, were Col. *Pride's* Brigade and Col. *Overton's* Brigade. Two Regiments of Horse moreover brought up the Reer, with the Cannon.

All things being thus in a readiness, the Soldiers desired nothing more, than the coming of the time when they should fall on, that so they might shew their Valour to purpose. It was resolved (Sept. 3.) to fall on by break of day: but (by reason of some impediments) it was delayed till six of the clock; at which time, Major-General *Lambert*, Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, Commissary *Whalley*, and Colonel *Twisleton*, (so stout and resolute Commanders) gave a furious charge upon the Scots Army, who stoutly sustained the same, and gallantly disputed the business at the Swords point. The English Foot in the mean time fired roundly upon the Enemies Foot, but with more courage than success; for being over-powr'd, they were forc'd into some disorder; notwithstanding, they soon recovered the ground, being reinforc'd by the Generals own Regiment.

And now the Fight grew hot on all sides. The English Horse flew about like Furies, doing wonderful execution, insomuch that the place soon became an *Aceldama*, or field of blood. The Foot were not behind in their capacities: for the Pikes gallantly sustained the push of their Enemies, and the musquets seemed by their often firings to have a design to alter the property of the Climate from the Frigid to the Torrid Zone. Neither were the English more free of their powder, than the Scots (especially *Lawyers Regiment* of Highlanders) were of their Bullets, until their Horse being totally dispers'd, and enforc'd to quit the Field, left the foot exposed to all dangers: which they seeing, began to shift for themselves as well as they could, throwing away their Arms, and betaking themselves to their heels: a poor shift! it being better to fight a day, than run an hour. To be short; the English at last so far prevailed, as to give a compleat Overthrow, by the utter routing of that Army, which had but lately triumphed in a confident assurance of Victory.

This was the work of one hour; but it ended not here: for the Rout begetting a Run, the fugitives were pursued eight miles from the place: Of the Enemy were slain in all about 3000; 10000 taken prisoners, many whereof were desperately wounded; and 15000 Arms, all their Ammunition, Bag and Baggage. Prisoners of Note were Sir *James Lumsdale*, Lieutenant General of the Army, the Lord *Libberton* (who shortly after dyed of his wounds) Adjutant-General *Bickerton*, Scout-master *Campbel*, Sir *William Douglas*, Lord

*Cranston*, and Colonel *Gurden*, 12 Lieutenant-Colonels, 6 Majors, 42 Captains, 75 Lieutenants, 17 Cornets, 2 Quarter-Masters, 10 Ensigns, 1000 and Horse Colours 200, 27 Guns, some Brass, some Iron, and some of Leather, with the loss not above 300 English. There was likewise taken the Purse to the great Seal of *Scotland*: and for standing Trophies of this great victory, 20 of their Colours were sent up to the Parliament at *London*; who caused them to be hung up in *Westminster-Hall*, where they remained a long time.

As Sea-sick passengers in a boisterous Ocean receive as it were new life and Spirit upon safe arrival at their desired Port: so the English Army, who had been tossed up and down in a strange Countrey, and almost spent by hard duty and the unsuitableness of the Climate, were now revived by this miraculous Victory. And the Lord General seeing their courage to be up, resolved it should not sit flat forwant of exercise: and therefore (the better also to improve this Victory, and to secure what he had gotten (he dispatches away *Lambert* with 6 Regiments of Horse, and 9 of Foot to attack *Edinburgh* the Metropolis of *Scotland*, and secure *Leith*, that so the English ships might there readily and without obstruction yield necessary supplies to the Army. The Lord General himself remained some small time at *Dunbar*, to dispose of Prisoners, and to order other matters as the occasion required. And the Prisoners being so numerous, that it seemed to be as much trouble to detain them as it was to take them, the Lord General



General discharged near upon 5000 of them (most sick and wounded) the rest (much about the same number) being conveyed to *Berwick* by 4 Troops of Colonel *Hacker's* Horse.

Having given this account of the Captives, a word or two of those that escaped by flight. Their General it seems was one of that number, and none of those that made the least haste neither, or else he could not have been at *Edinburgh* by ten of the clock that morning whereon the Battel was fought. But if he had made less haste, he might have come before he had been welcome, unless he had brought better news; the Garison and inhabitants being very much damp't at the report, as also those of *Leith*, insomuch that *Edinburgh* was presently quit by its Garison, and *Leith* resolved to receive the Victors, not knowing how to keep them out. But though the English had thus possessed the Town of *Edinburgh*, the Castle remained untoucht; which being esteemed impregnable, and commanding the Town the Scots hoped that the English would soon find their new quarters too hot to hold them; and so much the rather, for that the said Castle (besides its natural strength) had 400 good Souldiers to defend it, 50 pieces of Cannon upon the walls, and store of all sorts of Provisions; Colonel *William Dundass* being its Governour. However, the same day the Scots deserted the Town, the English under *Lambert* took possession of the same, at also of *Leith*; in both which places they found several Pieces of Ordnance, many Arms, and considerable provisions; which were too heavy for the Scots

Scots to take with them, because of their host. But how well the new Garrison of *Edenburgh* agreed with their neighbours in the Castle, we shall hear afterwards.

Upon this, the Lord General coming up with the remainder of the Army, the Scots were in despair of nestling there again; and therefore made *Sterling* their next refuge; whither resorted those that had escaped at *Dunbar*, to help to piece up their shattered Army; that so in a second encounter they might endeavour to recover their lost credit. To this purpose also recruits were raised by the Committee of Estates in all places under their power: their Officers are likewise newly molded, new ones being taken in, and old ones laid aside, according as they saw occasion: this change being not in inferiour officers only, but among the great Commanders likewise: for old *Leven* was laid aside, albeit *David Lesley* were continued.

But this their rallying and recruiting, chopping and changing signified little: for (as if they had been possessed with a like spirit with those infatuated Jews in *Jerusalem* when that City was closely begirt by the *Romans*) notwithstanding that the English had given them that sore blow at *Dunbar*, driven them from their Metropolis, and were still improving those advantages; the Scots instead of joining heart and hand in defending their Country against so prevailing an adversary, split themselves into so many factions and factions, that it would require some curiosity to discriminate them. The most notable were these: *Strang*

the *James* and *Car* in the West, who declared against the  
 Kings party, and were called *Remonstrators*: ano-  
 ther party were for King and Kirk, as *David Les-*  
*ley*, Major General *Holborn*, and those in *Fife*:  
 and a third sort were purely for the King; these  
 with *Middleton* keep the High-lands.

This Kingdom being thus divided, was not  
 likely long to stand. For animosities growing  
 higher and higher among themselves, little care  
 was taken to repress the English, who ranged at  
 pleasure about the Countrey. And the Lord Ge-  
 neral having his Head-quarters at *Edenburgh*,  
 and observing what course the Scots steered, lay  
 not idle; but having refreshed his men, *Sept.*  
*14.* drew out the greatest part of his Army for  
*Sterling*, and faced the Castle, having at first some  
 thoughts to storm it; but finding that the Horse  
 could not well second the Foot, he desisted for  
 that time, and returned back to the Head-quar-  
 ters. Whither being come, order is given for  
 carrying all the Boats in the *Firth* to *Leith*, for  
 prevention of the Scots Ferrying over into *Fyfe*, to  
 joyn with the enemy there.

And since (according to the Proverb) of *Idle-*  
*ness comes no goodness*; therefore, to keep his men  
 in action, and that they may the better acquaint  
 themselves with the Countrey, the Lord General  
 (his work going on well before *Edenburgh* Castle,  
 of which a particular account shall be given in its  
 place) marcht away six Regiments of Foot, and  
 nine of Horse and Dragoons, for *Glasgow*, a  
 City of a pleasant site, upon a river Navigable for  
 small Boats, which usually bring up provisions from

*Patrick's*

*Patricks-town*, ten miles thence, where Ships of good burden may ride. In *Glasgow*, the streets and houles are more neat and clean than those of *Edenburgh*; it being also one of the chief Universities in *Scotland*.

By the way of *Linlithgow*, the Lord General sent a Paper to the Committee of Estates, to try once more what might be done by fair means; a Copy whereof was likewise at the same time dispatched away to Colonel *Car* and *Straughan*, to the same end.

Little else was remarkable in this Expedition than the taking of a small Garison near *Kelsick*, a place famous for being the Stage whereon some time the valiant *Montrofs* had acted such great things, as even shook the foundations of the Kirk and had subverted it, if the English had not in time stretched out their hand to support the same. This Heroick Champion, notwithstanding he wrought such great things with small Forces, (ever incountring considerable Armies with a handful, so that not one of his men could be exempted from continual duty) yet could not avoid the frowns of adverse fortune; wherein nevertheless, although his body were captivated, his Spirit remained free, bearing up above the highest affronts of his enraged enemies, who loaded him with all the ignominy that Malice it self could invent; first inflicting on him a most reproachful death; and next, mangling his dead body, the quarters whereof they caused to be hung up in several places, for publick view. On the Tolbooth at *Glasgow* hung one of his legs.

egs, which the English (remembering what he was) took down and buried privately.

Now the Lord General retires to *Edinburgh*, the season admitting of no considerable action, but only what necessity required. And a necessary work they went about, in suppressing a company of sturdy knaves called Moss-Troopers, who daily plaid their pranks with great boldness, and (by the treachery and connivence of the Countrey-people) murdered many of the English Souldiers, especially straglers: nay, their confidence grew so high, as to steal some of the Train horses belonging to the Army. To that end, a Proclamation was published by the Lord General to this effect:

**T**hat finding many of the Army were not only spoiled and robbed, but also others barbarously butchered and slain, by a sort of Outlaws, not under the discipline of any Army; and finding that all tenderness to the Country produced no other effect, than their compliance with, and protection of such Persons: therefore considering that it is in the Countries power to detect and discover them; and perceiving their motion to be ordinary, by their invitation and intelligence of Country people; therefore he declared, That where ever these enormities should be committed for the future, life should be required for life, and a plenary satisfaction for the goods thus stolen, of those Parishes and places where the fact should be committed, unless they did discover and produce the offender.



Presently after the publishing of this Proclamation, Colonel *Monk* with a commanded part of Foot, four pieces of Ordnance, and a Mortar-piece, was sent to hunt these beasts of Prey. And upon information that *Darleton-House* near *Haddington* was one of their nests, *Monk* and *Laurel* bent their Force towards it; and approaching it at evening, by the next day they had planted their Battery, whence they plying the House with great Guns, the Mortar-piece also being not unoccupied: but all wrought little effect, till at last one of the Granadoes falling into the House, broke the Iron bar of the inner gate, and forced it open, throwing the Draw-bridge into the Moat; it also killed the Moss-Troopers Lieutenant. This rough handling made them cry out for Quarter, profering to quit the House, so they might save their lives. But these beggars not being admitted to be chusers, at last submit to mercy. Their number was thirty, and their Captain one *Waire*, who (with two others of the most desperate of them) was presently shot to death, and the rest made prisoners.

This place being thus reduced, *Monk* takes with him 600 Foot for *Roslane Castle*; where at first he found opposition, but upon second thoughts it was yielded to his mercy.

From these less considerable atchievements the English proceed to greater. For the heat of their courage made them insensible (as it were) of the coldness of the weather; so that instead of lurking in Winter-quarters, (as is usual in such season, in warmer climates too) they stir abroad.

to find out the Enemy. And now they draw near to that grand party in the West of Scotland, sometimes commanded by Car and Strathgairn, who had withdrawn themselves from the obedience of King, Kirk and State, publishing a Declaration containing the Reasons of their so doing; which was to this purpose.

**T**hat that which is obvious in the first place among the sins of the Land, is the late proceedings with the King: That they would distinguish betwixt their duty and their sin: their duty was to use all lawful ways for reclaiming the King, and to own his interest accordingly as he owned and prosecuted the cause: that it was their sin, and the sin of the Kingdom, that the King had walked in the ways of his fathers opposition to the work of Reformation; and yet that they should receive him, notwithstanding his peace made with the Irish, the Commission given to James Graham (meaning Montrose) for invasion of Scotland; and after all this, to assure him by Commissioners the exercise of Royal power, upon his bare profession to join in the Cause and Covenant, without any farther proof of his repentance, or convincing evidences of the reality of his professions. That the Treaty was continued with him after his dealing was discovered in the actual invasion of the Kingdom. That the King himself did still continue the Malignants party in the Kingdom, cleaving to them, and following their counsels: and this not done only in the Kingdom of Scotland, but also abroad, by keeping correspondence with the Lord of Ormond and the Earl of Newcastle. That he refused to sign the

Declaration

*Declaration offered to him by the Committee of Estates and General Assembly, until it was extorted from him, and he of necessity enforced to take it. That he still pursued the same designs since the Treaty as before, endeavouring to have the Malignants of the Kingdom in power and trust, as it appears in his frequent conversing and correspondence with them, notwithstanding they were discharged the Court by Act of Parliament. By these things it is manifest, that the King hath not prosecuted the Cause of God, but rather in opposition to the work of God and the Covenant. They therefore according to the Declaration of Kirk and State the 13. of August 1650. disclaim all the sin and the guilt of the King and his House, both old and new, and declare that they cannot own him nor his interest in the state of the quarrel between him and the enemy against whom they were to hazard their lives.*

This Remonstrance was sent to the Committee of Estates then at Sterling the 25 of November 1650. where it bred great divisions and dissentings amongst them. Much debate there was, what to do in it: to approve thereof, would add many more factions to their already broken State, and make all desperate: to shew an utter dislike of it, would put the Remonstrators upon securing themselves, lest if they should fall under the lash of their own Estates, they might be worse handled than by being in the power of the English. But at last they agreed upon a Declaration, which was drawn up, and voted to be sent to the Commissioners of the Kirk; wherein they declared,

*That*

That the said Remonstrance, as it related to the Parliament and Civil Judicatories, was scandalous and injurious to his Majesties Person, and injurious to his Authority: and that it held out seeds of division, and was of a dangerous consequence, and withall dishonourable to the Kingdom, in so far as it tended to a breach of Treaty with the Kings Majesty at Breda, approved by the Parliament and General Assembly: that it strengthened the hand of the Enemy, giving him wherewithal to justifie his unjust invasion; and weakened the hands of many honest men. Lastly, that through the subtil contrivance thereof, many religious Gentlemen, Officers and Ministers have been thereby ensnared.

This was backt by the Assembly of the Kirk, who signified their concurrence with the Estates in dislike of the Remonstrance; but so nevertheless, as (if possible) to bring Car and his party over by fair means: to which end, many Papers passed betwixt them, and all means were used to compose differences.

The English Lord General observing these Western dissenters to agree with him in many particulars, sent them several invitations to come in to him. Who (being proud of so many courtings from all sides) grew so high thereupon, as to think themselves strong enough to defend their own Cause against all opposers. But as if Divisions had not already sufficiently torn that Nation, this Party, who had lately made so great a rent therein, soon after subdivide themselves; Straughan withdrawing himself, and in a small time closing with the English. So that Car com-

mands all now himself; and how he behaved himself in his command, we shall presently see.

Upon this Party the English Lord General had a special eye, they quartering near; who if they could not be made friends, might prove dangerous enemies, and bad neighbours. At last, after many fruitless endeavours used to draw them over to him, he resolves ( notwithstanding the difficulty of marching at that time of the year it being *December* ) to force them to it, or to do worse. Which was strangely effected, in a short time after. For about the end of *November* Major-General *Lambert*, and Commissary-General *Whalley*, with five Regiments of Horse, were ordered by the General to march from *Peebles* to *Hamilton*, on the South side of *Cloid*; himself in the mean time marching from *Edenburgh* on the North-side, where he tarried the greatest part of a day: but having good intelligence where *Lambert* and his party were, and the weather being very bad, he returned back. Whereupon when Col. *Car* had notice, as also that *Lambert* had taken up his quarters at *Hamilton*, he conceived that now a fit opportunity was offered him of making sure work with him, he being disjoyned from the Body of the Army, and supinely sleeping ( as he dreamed ) without any thought of an enemy. With this confident perswasion *Car* sets upon a sudden March in the night, with about 1500 Horse; and before day ( making more haste than good speed ) he furiously breaks into *Lambert's* Quarters; and finding no opposition at his first entry, he was emboldened to



up to the middle of the Town; where a Captain with about 40 souldiers having taken the Alarm had suddenly mounted: these (being favoured by a Tree that lay cross the street) gave a check to their career, till the whole Garrison was alarm'd. The suddenness of the business did somewhat amuse the English: but having soon recollected themselves, they resume their wonted courage, being also very much animated by the example of their Officers forwardness. And to make their work the more perfect, part of their Forces being left in the Town, to engage the Enemy, and to secure the Rere; the residue drew out, that if possible they might surround the enemies whole party; who making a timely discovery of this design, very cunningly had about and fled. Though this encounter lasted not long, yet of the Scots were slain near upon 100, and as many taken prisoners; some few of whom might well be accounted many, considering their quality: for among them was *Car* himself, his Lieutenant Col. and Captain-Lieutenant. This Victory was not so well won, but it was as well followed, for the chase continued as far as *Ayr*, where also were routed a party of 150, which was the chief remains of the Remonstrators. This Success came very seasonably; and the more considerable it was, by how much the more difficult it would have been to engage them against their will: for they knowing the Country well, and having the people on their side, could march about at pleasure; when the English durst not follow without a great part of their

Army for fear of *Lasley*, who then lay at *Stirling* with the Scotch Army, ready to make use of advantages that might serve for his purpose.

Immediately upon this, followed the Rendition of *Edenburgh-Castle* (the most considerable strong hold in all *Scotland*;) It is seated upon a very high Precipice, having but one entrance to it, and that both steep and by which but one or three can go abreast) over-looking and commanding all places about it: infomuch that many times the English Souldiers in their Quarries were galled with the Shot sent from the great Guns into *Edenburgh*.

When the Lord General came first before it, which was immediately after the Rout at *Dunbar*, he sent in a Summons to the Governor Colonel *Will. Dundas*; which wrought no effect: presently after, several Papers were sent in to invite the Ministers to come forth to their several charges; but they refusing so civil an offer, the Lord General then seriously considered with his Officers which way to reduce by force both the town and it: knowing, that if it should continue in the Scots hands, his own work would be very much retarded thereby. Accordingly, the place being viewed, nothing could be seen to encourage the attempting of it by storm. But as there were many more ways than one to win; so every one of those ways that carried probability with it was debated. At last, a resolution was taken That seeing this impregnable place could not be beaten down, endeavours should be used to lift it up; to that end, Miners both Scotch and English

were sent for, to carry on the work: In order to this resolution, about the end of *September*, the Galleries were begun in the night, which was no sooner perceived by those in the Castle, but they very angrily fired upon it with five great Guns, and several vollies of small Shot; which nothing hindered the English, whose indefatigable pains wrought through the earth, until at last coming to the main rock, it put them to a stand, finding it not to be of that mould they imagined. Yet could not this dismay those, whose resolutions far surmounted the difficulty of their present design; for finding the mattock did not perform its part, they, by other means, made holes in the stones; and filling them full of powder, made them fly by firing.

But the Lord General taking notice how tedious the mining work went on, and withal considering the uncertainty of the wished event when finished; therefore, to make a quick dispatch, he gave order for raising a Mount not far from the Castle upon a rising ground, whereon to plant a Battery, that so the Enterpise might be carried on above ground as well as beneath. The sight of this very much amazed *Dundas* the Governor, who now perceived what a vanity was to withstand the English industry. Yet to put himself of that great trust reposed in him by his superiors, and withal to cherish the hopes of his Country-men, whose eyes were generally on him, he did the utmost to answer the expectations of those that thought this bone might be near to break *Cromwells* teeth: who herein

were much deceived; for it could do no more than whet his appetite, and make him long for the possession of this strong Fort; since the greater the opposition is, the more is a great spirit raised thereby.

The Battery being now raised to a convenient height (in spite of all impediments) by the wearied labours of the Souldiers, and all things necessary prepared, four Mortar-Pieces and battering Guns were drawn from *Leith*, and quickly mounted against the Castle. Now the word of command was only wanting, which the Lord General deferred to give until he had sent to the Governour once more, willing him to yield by fair means, and save the labour of being informed by foul. The Summons was sent the 11 of December, and spake thus.

*That he being resolved by Gods assistance to such means as were put into his hands for to reduce the Castle, did, for the preventing of further misery, command the rendering of the place to him upon fit conditions.*

The Governor having received the same, made answer,

*That he was intrusted by the Committee of Estates of Scotland for the keeping of the Castle: and that he could not deliver it up without leave from them, and therefore desired ten days time to send to them and receive their answer: upon receipt whereof the General should receive his resolute answer.*

But the Lord General knowing delays to be dangerous, and that time was precious, and not to be lost in vain, he makes this sudden reply:

That it concerned not him to know the Obligations of them that trusted him; but that he might have honourable terms for himself, and those that were with him: but that he could not give liberty to him to consult with the Committee of Estates, because he heard those among them that were honest enjoyed not satisfaction, and the rest were now discovered to seek another interest than they had formerly pretended to; in which if he desired to be satisfied, he might have information at a nearer distance than St. Johnstons.

This Parley was intended to continue until 10 in the morning, Decemb. 13. but there flying from the Castle some great Shot on the over-night, the next morning order was given to try the Mortar-Pieces: which was done; three with shells, and the fourth with stones. This produced the Governors Answer to the Lord Generals last Message; wherein he adjured him in the fear and name of the living God, (which was called upon in the acceptance of his great trust) that liberty might be granted for him to send to the Committee of Estates, and that he should be very willing to receive information from those of his Country-men whom he could trust. The Lord General's reply was, That whosoever he would appoint to come to him, should have liberty for one hour; but to send to the Committee of Estates, he could not grant. To this the Governor was silent, until the Mortar-Pieces and great Guns began to play against the Castle; which they did for some small time, with great violence. This made Dundas send forth a Drum to desire a Conference with the Provost of A-



*berdeen*, and one more then in *Edenburgh* : which the Lord General willingly condescended unto. But they seeing it to be a business of great concernment, utterly refused to have any thing to do with it ; leaving the Governor to take his own course in the business. The Drummer being returned with this answer into the Castle, it much perplext the Governor, who reflecting on the sad condition he was in, saw himself surrounded with many dangers both from abroad and within : for should he yield, it would go near to cost him his life, if ever he went to give an account to those that intrusted him with this charge : for the loss of so strong a place would exasperate them beyond reason, and fill their minds so full of anger and revenge, that in vain he should go about to make his own defence. Should he stand it out, and defend the Castle, haply relief might come, and so he might preserve his honour, and raise his reputation to a high pitch ; which are things a valiant Souldier ought to be as careful of, as life it self.

These considerations at last made him wave all other thoughts and wholly resolve to acquit himself manfully, knowing his own strength, and that the Nation could not afford a better Garrison to maintain than this, being naturally strong and unaccessible. No sooner had he resolved thus with himself, but his mind was accordingly signified to the English by a fair red Ensign hung out in defiance on the top of the Castle, and the roaring of great Guns from the Battlements of the wall. This Musick was no ways unpleasant

in the Lord Generals ears; who answerable to the Scotch red Flag, produced Red-Coats (a sight more formidable) and for their Guns, sent them in such Balls, that the strongest Arm in the Castle could not beat back again. For now he thought it concerned him to let them know his utmost force, seeing they were so hardy as to withstand his power three months, when a potent Army at *Dunbar* could not do it three hours. Therefore *December 17.* the great Guns play hard on the Castle, and the Granadoes flying in the Air, were as so many prodigious Comets threatening misery to the Besieged, who in defence of themselves made the Castle seem *Arma*, perpetually vomiting out smoak and fire; but all to little purpose: for the Lord General showed such continued storms of shot upon them, that even made them despair of withstanding the same.

The Governor seeing this, and thinking that now he had done sufficient for one man, beat a Parley, offering to surrender, if (still harping on this string) leave might be granted to send to the Committee of Estates, and see if their leisure would permit them to come with relief. But this being still denied, Col. *Dundas* and his Souldiers thought it not good to abide any more of these fiery tryals, and therefore agreed to deliver all up on these Articles:

*That the Castle of Edinburgh, the Cannon, Arms, Ammunition, Magazines, and furniture of War, should be delivered up to the Lord General Cromwell.*

*That*

*That the Scots should have the liberty to carry away their publick Registers, publick Moveables, private Evidences and Writs, into Fife or Sterling.*

*That those goods in the Castle belonging to any person whatsoever, the Owners should have them restored again: this to be proclaimed, that all might take notice of it.*

*That the Governor, and all Military Officers and Souldiers, might depart without molestation, carrying their Arms and Baggage, with Drums beating, and Colours flying, to Burnt-Island in Fife: moreover, the sick and wounded Souldiers to stay in Edinburgh till cured, and then to receive the same benefit of Articles with the rest of their Fellows.*

According to these Articles this strong Castle being delivered up, December 24. was presently possess'd by some Companies of the English, who found therein (to their admiration) 53 Pieces of Ordnance, 15 of them Iron, the rest Brass; 8000 Arms, 80 Barrels of Powder, and all things else suitable. The Articles were punctually performed, by the very great care of the Lord General, who sent forth a Proclamation (according to the Tenour of the Agreement) for all persons to come freely to *Edinburgh*, and fetch what Goods belonged to them; promising that they should not receive the least wrong, nor be injured nor molested in their Egress or Regress; the Souldiers on pain of death being commanded to obey the Proclamation: and that none might plead ignorance, it was proclaimed by beat of Drum, and sound of Trumpet in *Edinburgh* and *Leith*.

Of such importance was this place to the English, that it might compare with any of their Successes ever since they first footed Scotch Ground. *Dunbar*-Victory was a great advantage, and the routing of *Car* conduced much to the weakning of the Enemy; but these things only pared the nails of *Kirk* and *States*, which would after a while grow again; or else broke their shins, and made them halt a little, which might be quickly cured by a Plaister brought out of the *Highlands*: but this loss of *Edenburgh* Castle is irrecoverable; no more such strong places will grow again; the loss of which almost broke the Scots hearts, and made them cry out, That *Cromwel* fought with more than ordinary Engines, and shot better Metal than Lead, or else it had been impossible to reduce that which in imagination was accounted impregnable. But this was meer fancie: for seldom it is, that any side loseth, but some will maintain it was by Treachery; when there was no such thing: so was it here; for *Dundas* the Governor did what lay in his power, and bore up courageously, notwithstanding he was bereft of half himself; for his wife was slain by a Granado that broke into the Castle; and his Souldiers were so frightened, being frequently wounded by them, that at last laying by the duty of Souldiers, they commanded their Commander, and inforc'd him to do what he did. But these unruly fellows being conveyed (according to Articles) into *Fife*, found to their cost that they had leaped out of the frying-Pan into the Fire: for about seventy of them were clapt up

## *The Wars in Scotland.*

up to answer for their misdemeanors. When they lay some time, until the Kirk and States were at leisure to call them to an account.

The crowning of the King was now the main business in agitation amongst them: this had been delayed long by the Kirk and States, who gave him some time to repent of all his Fathers sin and his own transgressions; which he at first refusing, it had like to have set him beside the Saddle: this backwardness in him, made the Kirk afraid to trust in his hands the reins of Government; wherefore they set themselves wholly to teach him mortification, and rules of the new Creature; withal making him understand how impossible it was to obtain a Crown, except he took up the Cross and followed them.

But the English vigorous prosecution of their designs, quickned them forward to expedite this business, which they of themselves were backward enough in. A head they saw was requisite to compose that enmity which was among them, and bring in those families in the *Highlands* (that declared purely for Royalty) to joyn with them in repelling the Prevalency of the *Common Enemy*, (which was the term bestowed on the English Army:) for now it was declared lawful to make use of all persons that became Souldiers, at this time of need; contrary to the Remonstrators opinion, who would not admit of any to serve in the Army, but such as could give sufficient testimony of their godly lives and conversations: so that in their judgements none were to be made choice of, (let the case of necessity be never so urgent)



urgent) unless they could overcome by the Spirit: if a house be on fire, nay more, a Kingdom, no water must be made use of, but that which is clean; rather should it burn down, than one drop of foul be cast into it. But to return whence we digressed.

The first of *January* was appointed to be the day whereon the King should be crowned; great preparations were made to invest him in his Royal Power at *Scone*: it was performed with the greatest Pomp and Magnificence that the present condition of the Nation could afford; the Nobility attending in their Robes; and the Marquess of *Argyle*, as Speaker from the Parliament, made a Speech: he having ended, the Ministers began with an Exhortation how to use that which they were going to put in his power: then the Covenant being tendred to him, was immediately subscribed. *Argyle* setting the Crown upon his head, the people shewed great demonstrations of joy, by their chearful acclamations of *God bless King Charles the second*. This News was quickly spread through all the Garisons in *Eife*, where was seen the like content, signified by the thundring report of great Guns, and lighting of Bone-fires.

This solemnity being over, the main design now was to raise such an Army as might not only secure what they had still in possession, but drive the English quite out of those places lately lost: to bring this to pass, Commissions were granted for raising Horse and Foot, and new Commanders brought in. *Middleton*, he was made Lieutenant-General of the Horse, &c.

The

The Lord General all this while was no idle Spectator, but took such notice of these passages, as might enable him to make his own use of them, and let them know, that greater Forces than they were able to raise, could not make him lose his hold, nor enforce one foot of ground from him. Therefore to make sure work, and get into his hands all those Garisons of the Scots which were on the South side the *Frith*, he commanded Colonel *Fenwick* with his own Regiment, and Colonel *Sylers* to reduce *Hume Castle*, and bring it under obedience. The Governors name thereof was *Cockburn*, a man much governed by fancie, as you will see. *Fenwick* no sooner received this Order, but immediately he applied himself to the work; and having drawn his men up before it, sent a Summons to the Governor in these words:

**H**is excellency the Lord General Cromwel hath commanded me to reduce this Castle you now possess, under his obedience; which if you now deliver into my hands, for his service, you shall have terms for your self and those with you: if you refuse, I doubt not but in a short time, by the Lords assistance to obtain what now I demand. I expect your answer by seven of the Clock to morrow morning, and rest

Your Servant,

GEORGE FENWICK

The Governor to this returns a quibbling Answer:

Right Honourable,

I Have received a Trumpeter of yours, as he tells me, without a Pass, to render Hume Castle to the Lord General Cromwel: please you I never saw your General.

As for Hume Castle it stands upon a Rock.

Given at Hume Castle this day before seven a Clock.

Soresteth, without prejudice to my Native Country,

Your most Humble Servant,

T. H. COCKBURN.

Here may be perceived how ignorant the Governor was of Cromwells Atchievements. Which ignorance of his must needs either be pretended, or wilful: for it could not be that he should know no more, when the whole world had heard so much: but 'tis probable he thought a part of his Army which wanted his presence, had not the same faculty in conquering, that he himself had when in person; and therefore took the boldness after the return of his Answer, to salute Colonel Fenwick with these Verses:

I William of the Wastle  
Am now in my Castle,  
And awe the Dogs in the Town  
Shan't gar me gang down.

This

This is *Moss* mixt with a Tincture of *Moss*. If the Superfluity of his Pen had been able to rout two Regiments, what might his Sword have done? But Col. *Fenwick* having placed Battery against the Castle, returns him Herrick Verse for his resolute Rhymes: for the great Guns (being one Mortar piece and a Culverin) quickly made the feathers fly, especially a Grando that fell in the middle of the Castle, which did them great mischief. But yet they held out until a small breach being opened, and the English ready to enter, the Governor beat a Parley. But *Fenwick* now was resolved to hearken to no Composition but only quarter for life: which was accepted of; so the Governor, with his Garison, (78 Commanders and private Soldiers) gang'd forth of the Castle: which was presently possess'd by Captain *Collinson* with his Company.

It had been long now since the Lord General himself had been in the field; for though Action was that which chiefly corresponded to his Nature, yet the sharpness of the season made him continue in his Winter-quarters for some time longer: in which time, parties were sent abroad to enlarge their Quarters, and clear the passage between *England* and *Edenburgh*. *Tinmouth* Castle was a place which many times had cut off passengers, and much molested the Country by frequent excursions: for the reducing of which Colonel *Monk* (that gallant Commander) was sent with about three Regiments of Horse and Foot. When first he came before it, finding the

Some

very refractory, he caused the Mortar-  
pieces to play for 48 hours: which did them little  
hurt; until that six battering Guns being planted,  
they played their parts so well, that the Gover-  
nour was forc'd to yield (seeing no other con-  
ditions would be granted) to Mercy, and all those  
that were with him.

The King having now got some power into  
his hands, used his utmost endeavours to gain  
reputation amongst his Subjects, by visiting all  
the Garisons in *Fife*, and putting them into a po-  
sure to hinder the English from landing on that  
side the *Frith*; but having experience of the Lord  
Generals courage, and knowing that Forts would  
prove weak withstanders of his Forces, should  
they make an attempt; therefore he drew from  
*Perth* those Horse and Foot which could be  
well spared, and joyning with them the new rais-  
ed souldiers he quartered them all along the Wa-  
ter-side, for better security.

After this business was ended, away rides he  
to the Highlands, to compose differences, (for  
that place was not free from dissentions) and  
perswade those rough-hewn Fellows to rise  
unanimously in defence of their craggy habitati-  
ons.

This progress was no sooner ended, but the  
meeting of the Scotch Parliament at *St. Johnstons* was  
begun, where the chief consideration was still to  
recruit their Army with new supplies of men.  
This Meeting produced an *Act, Ordinance*, or  
*Gun*, to terrifie those that should slip away  
from their Colours without leave from their

K

Captains,



Captains, and was followed by the Clergy (who shew how ready they were to promote these signs) with an exhortatory Declaration, stuff'd with railing rhetorick against the English, which was sent into *Fife* and the Highlands, perswading to rise at this time of need. This produced little: for the common people must not stir, unless their *Lords* or *Leards* beat the Drum. But the *Grandees* were now busily snarling one at another about superiority in the Army: every one endeavouring to be in the chiefeſt place of command: and if any one were advanced, he that came next behind pulled him by the skirts, to hinder his preferment. By this means the Scottish great undertakings went on but slowly.

But to return, and make an inspection into the English Affairs: We find the Army in and about *Edinburgh*, under a cloud of sorrow for their General who by sickness was confined to his Chamber, and utterly disabled for the present to appear in person with the Army, should any new occasion call them forth of their Winter-Quarters.

This did not so much depress the spirits of the English Souldiery, (who were exceeding sensible of their unspeakable loss, should *Cromwell* their fortunate Leader be now snatch't away from them in the midst of their hopes) as it heightened the Scots, who were very much elevated with the fancy of his death; believing the slightest report of it to be real truth, because it corresponded with their desires; imagining themselves assurance of Victory and sufficient

veng

venge, when death had conquered him, who many times before had made them feel the force of his Steel. This conceit was so deeply grounded in their imaginations, that no report to the contrary could supplant it, but it must be so, because so they would have it: so apt are men to believe any thing that serves for their purpose, according to that saying, *Quod volumus, facile credimus.*

But this *Chimera* soon vanished into nothing: for a Scotch Trumpeter being sent out of *Fife* to *Edinburgh* about the restoration of a Ship laden with Goods which the English Frigats had taken sailing from *Brunt-Island* to *Fife*; after his message was delivered, he very confidently averr'd to the Souldiers, that their General was dead, and that they did well in hiding it; but all the world should never make him believe otherwise. This report was much wondred at; and the more, because the reporter did it with abundance of confidence, endeavouring to perswade all to chirp after his note. But he could not long persist in his opinion; for this Novelty being handed about from one to another, at last it came to the Lord Generals ear, who much admired such a thing should be, and he not know it: therefore to dispossess the Trumpeter of that conceit, he caused him to be brought into his presence: where coming, he now saw, that although sickness had for some time sorely handled this noble General, yet now his recovery was so far advanced, and that Nature had now gotten so much mastery over his distemper, that in all probability he would walk forth in a small time to take the air,

and visit his neighbours in *Sterling*, if not in *Fife*. At the return of the Trumpeter to those that sent him, he quickly blew away this false report which went so currantly in the Scotch Army, and assured the falsity of it.

The Parliament of *England* having ever a watchful eye on the Affairs in *Scotland*, with singular providence provided sufficient supplies both of Men, Money and Provisions of all sorts for Horse and Man, dispatching them away continually to the Army; so that it might be said, That *never was an Army better provided for, than this; nor ever did Souldiers better deserve encouragement than these*

About this time arrived at *Leith* Admiral *Deane*, one of the English Generals at Sea, with large supplies from *London*: amongst other conveniences, he brought 27 great flat-bottom'd Boats which were for transportation of the Army over into *Fife*, that so thereby a quick dispatch might be made of this work, so far advanced already. But the time of the year would not admit of much action: for although it was *April* here, yet the Rays of the Sun were not of force sufficient to penetrate the congealed Clouds, and raise a verdure on the ground; so that the Cavalry could not march, unless they carried their field pieces behind them, or else in Carts. But this which hindered the English, furthered the Scotch, and gave them leisure to scrape together as many men as possibly could be got. Out of the High-land marcht *Middleton*, with a considerable force of Horse and Foot; and the Town of *Dundee*, of a great respect to their King, and to the

their forwardness in prosecuting the cause, advanced for the service a brave Regiment of Horse at their own charges, and sent them with a stately Tent, and six fair Brass Ordnance, for a present to the King then at *Sterling*; where all being joyned, their Army consisted of 20000 men, most raw, or else but parboil'd, having seen no Wars but what their own Countrey produced; and being more acquainted with their fields than fights, knew better how to handle a Spade, than a Spear. But though many of them were thus, especially the new-raised Forces; yet all were not so: for *Scotland* being always numerous in people, supplied the neighbour-nations with auxiliary Forces; so that many Regiments of them were always in the service of the *Swede*, *French*, *Dutch* and other Nations. But now upon report of Wars in *Scotland*, they repaired home to serve in their own Nation at this time, against the English.

The Scotch Army being grown numerous, was still augmented by Forces newly raised in all parts of the Nation where the King and States had any command; yet more were desired: to that purpose, the Earl of *Eglington* (an eminent person) was sent into the West (with some other Commanders) to raise Forces. These coming to *Dunbarton* began to put their Commissions in execution; but Colonel *Lilburn* having notice of it, sent them a party of Horse, which suddenly snapt the Earl himself, his Son Colonel *James Montgomery*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Colburn*, &c. whom they carried away prisoners to *Edenburgh*.

The Lord General *Cromwel* had now strength to walk abroad, notwithstanding the relapse he fell into after his first sickness; and had it not been that he was of an extraordinary strong constitution, the Ague, which last of all seized upon him, might have shook him into the grave. But the Parliament in *England* seeing how frequent these distempers were upon their General, and doubting the air of *Scotland* might be the cause of it, the Council of State first of all sent him two eminent Doctors, Dr. *Wright*, and Dr. *Bates*, to use their utmost skill in his recovery; and presently after dispatched an Order into *Scotland*, which gave him liberty to leave the business of the Army, and repair into *England*, untill his health and strength was recovered. Upon receipt of this, he made a return of thanks by Letter to the Lord President of the Council, which ran thus.

My Lord,

I Having received yours of the 27 of May, with an Order of the Parliament for my liberty to return into *England*, for change of air, that thereby might the better recover my health; all which came unto me whiles Dr. *Wright* and Dr. *Bates* (whom your Lordship sent down) were with me: I shall need to repeat the extremity of my last sickness; was so violent, that indeed my nature was not able to bear the weight thereof; but the Lord was pleased to deliver me beyond expectations, and to give me cause to say once more, He hath plucked me out



of the Grave. My Lord, the indulgence of the Parliament expressed by their order, is a very high and undeserved favour; of which although it be fit I keep a thankful remembrance, yet I judge it would be too much presumption in me not to return a particular acknowledgment. I beseech you give me the boldness to return my humble thankfulness to the Council for sending two such worthy persons so great a journey to visit me, from whom I have received much encouragement and good direction for recovery of health and strength; which I find (by the goodness of God) growing towards such a state, as may yet (if it be his good will) render me useful according to my poor ability, in the station wherein he hath set me. I wish more steadiness in your affairs here, than to depend (in the least) upon so frail a thing as I am: indeed they do not, nor own any Instrument: this cause is of God, and it must prosper. Oh that all that have any hand therein, being so perswaded, would gird up the loyns of their minds, and endeavour in all things to walk worthy of the Lord: So prays,

My Lord,

Edinburgh,

June 3.

Your most humble Servant,

O. CROMWEL.

Although

Although sickness had a long time kept under the body of this noble General, yet his courage was no way diminished by it: for no sooner was he able to stir abroad, but with eager desire of action, he consults with the chief Officers of the Army to carry on the War. The result of these Councils was to contract the Army, by drawing in the out-guards or petty Garisons which were of little force, and only served for *Pere-dues* to give notice of the Enemies motions. To *Hamilton* marcht Commissary-General *Whally* with eight Regiments of Horse, and brought off a Troop of Dragoons, and 60 Foot which were there placed; afterward several other places were deserted by the forces that kept them.

The Army being thus drawn into one body, were supplied with 33 Waggon and Carriages for the Train from *Berwick*; and near upon the same time arrivd by Sea Caprain *Butler* in the *Success*, a stout ship formerly taken from the French: this was the ship that wafted along the Golden Fleece, and safely swam into *Leith* with a rich Cargazon of about 80000*l.* to pay the Souldiers. This money was presently distributed out, to the Horse and Foot; which mightily elevated their resolution to the present expedition.

All things being now ready for this Campaign, the Lord General *Cromwel* ordered the Armies advance to *Red-hall*: which was cheerfully done, on *June 24. 1651.* At this place they only tarried until the Souldiers had wholly quitted their Quarters, and then marched off to *Pencland hills*, a place which was well known to the English, even

since the first entrance of the Army into Scotland, when they took the confidence from thence to look big on the City of *Edinburgh*: but now being in a braver condition than they were before, having cut through the greatest difficulties of the War, and advanced their Blood-red Cross on the top of the most impregnable places that durst withstand their invincible Force; having made a breakfast of the South of Scotland, they intended the North for a Dinner. Therefore to make haste now their stomachs were up, the Lord Gen. *Cromwel* caused the whole Army to pitch their Camp on *Pencland* hills, in such a comely Order, and admirable Figure, that *Julius Caesar* himself (could he have kept death off at the Swords point, and thereby survived to this age) might have turned Scholar, and learnt the Rudiments of Modern Discipline, by the example of this excellent Commander. How amiable was it to behold the towering Tents of the superiour Officers, in various Figures, and spreading Colours overlooking the Huts of the inferiour Souldiers, like so many Pinnacles in a well built City, that aspire over the humble Cottages, administering a pleasant object to the delighted Traveller! Here Military Discipline resembled the Civil power; all knowing their Duty, and performing their Parts; whilst General *Cromwel* the Head, observed the Actions of every Member in this great Body; with one hand stretched forth to reward the sober and valiant; the other, to punish the cowardly and vitious. It was not here, as usually it hath been practised in forraign Armies; as that

of

of the Duke of *Lorain*, where the first question to a new listed Souldier was this, *Canst thou plunder?* or in some others, where the Van, by Rapine and destruction, make Skeletons of the Rere.

While the Army lay thus incamped, the Lord General in his Tent feasted his Officers, and several of their Ladies, as the Lady *Lambert*, and Major General *Deans* Lady, with several other English women, who came from *Leith* to view the Souldiers in their Tents, and afterwards returned back to the place from whence they came.

The Army continued not long in this posture: for General *Cromwel* seeing the weather invited, and intelligence of the Scots being at *Falkirk*, requiring a speedy advance, he therefore drew forth the Army to meet them, which we shall muster in their March, and set down the names of the particular Colonels, with their Regiments both of Horse and Foot, which were actually in this Expedition, that so the remembrance of these worthy Commanders may be preserved.

The Regiments were these.

### H O R S E.

1. The Lord General's.
2. Major General *Lambert*'s.
3. Lieut. General *Fleetwod*'s.
4. Com. Gen. *Whalley*'s.
5. Col. *Tomlinson*'s.
6. Col. *Twisleton*'s.

7. Col.

7. Col. *Hacker's*.
8. Col. *Okey's*.
9. Col. *Lidcot's*.
10. Col. *Berry's*.
11. Col. *Grosvenor's*.
12. Col. *Alured's*.
13. Col. *Lilburn's*.
14. 6 Troops under Major *Husbands*.

*FOOT.*

1. The Lord General's.
2. Major General *Lambert's*.
3. Major General *Dean's*.
4. Lieutenant General *Monk's*.
5. Col. *Fairfax's*.
6. Col. *Pride's*.
7. Col. *Goffe's*.
8. Col. *West's*.
9. Col. *Cooper's*.
10. Col. *Ashfield's*.
11. Col. *Daniel's*.
12. Col. *Read's*.

Six Troops of Dragoons, and sixteen pieces of Ordnance.

This brave Cavalry and gallant Infantry, in prosecution of the present design, first marched to *New-bridge*, from thence to *Lithgow*, from whose Castle battlements they might espy the Tents of the Scotch Army encamped in *Torwood* four miles of this side *Sterling*. Now the two Armies being not far from one another, it was conceived



a speedy ingagement would follow, seeing General *Cromwel*'s courage prompted him to seek his Enemies; and the numerousness of the Scots Army might be a perswasion to them not to fear a Fight: but it seems they intended nothing less; for the King having drawn his Foot into *Torwood*, incamped there, and railed them in with regular Fortifications, the Horse in great Bodies lying about them, for security; and these again fenced with the River and with Bog, so that it was an impossible thing for the English to drive them out of this fastness which they had betaken themselves to. Yet however, the Lord General would try whether provocations might draw the Scots to a fairer Field, and therefore marched his Army in Battalia so near their main Body, that their Tents might perfectly be discerned; and so stood from twelve at noon, till eight at night, expecting the Scots approach; but they having more mind to spin out time, than to put all to the hazard of one Battel, refused an ingagement. But because it should not be said the English came there for nothing, therefore the Scots sent them some thundring Messengers from the concavity of their great Guns, which wrought this affect; that the Lord General *Cromwel* drew off his Army, with a resolution not quite to desert the service, but rather to go back some few paces, that so he might return again with the greater force; or else attempt the Scots Quarters in some other places, and by that means inforce his enemies to seek to him for relief of their Friends.

This

This Resolution being taken up, the Lord General drew off his Army to *Glasgow*; and after some small refreshment of his wearied Souldiers, he marched away again, directly on the East-side of the Town, and so continued in excellent order marching on for five or six miles towards *Hamilton*, (this was to amuse the Scots, and bring them into security:) but upon the sudden hoping to get some advantage over the Scots, upon the remove of their Camp to *Kelsie*, he wheeled about, and quickly after took up his Quarters at *Monks-Land*, within four miles of their Army. But though they still declined ingagement, refusing to meddle with the English, otherwise than by small parties, that sometimes flew out, when they conceived any advantage might be gained; yet many of these Land-Pickarones were often met withal, and sent home again well Bastedo'd for their boldness.

This spinning out of time in this manner so exasperated the Lord General *Cromwel*, that he resolved to fall upon part of their Forces that were placed to keep *Kalender-house*. Accordingly, *July 15.* he caused two battering Guns to be planted: they began to play about eleven of the clock that day; and about seven at night they had acted their parts so well, that the wall no longer being able to indure the force of these fiery Engines, fell down in many places; and yet for all this, the Governour very stoutly made good his charge; believing that the whole Scotch Army his friends, who were in sight, would never let him perish for want of relief, and therefore

fore resolved to stand it out to the utmost. The Lord General seeing his Summons wrought little effect to the obtaining of his ends, sent ten Files out of every Regiment, to pull them out by force, seeing they would not yield for fear: these stout Lads being provided with Faggots presently disburthened their backs in the Enemies Moat, and so springing over into the breach, carried all before them, so that in half an hour, the House was wholly possess, and the Governour with sixty two Souldiers hurried away into another world, having refused (when they might) to live in this. The Scotch army all this while moved not, but as passive Spectators beheld this Tragedy, without offering to send one hand to help their friends in distress, as if this business nothing concerned them. The Lord General seeing how cowardly the Scots were, in that they suffered their Garisons to be snatched away from under their Noses, resolves to sit yet more close upon their skirts, and bid fair for *Fife*, thereby to cut off those supplies of provisions that enabled them to trifle out time, and protract the War. This design had many times been discoursed of by the General and his Council of War, but never before fell out so fit an opportunity as was now presented.

Wherefore Colonel *Daniel's* Regiment of Foot, having four Companies more joyned with them, and four Troops of Horse, all under the command of that valiant Souldier, Col. *Overton*, were designed for this service: these lying at *Leith*, it was given out, that they were intended for *Eng-*  
*land*

land by Sea ; but upon a sudden, all provisions being in a readiness, the Boats and Pinnaces also fitted for Service, Colonel *Overton* marched with his Forces out of *Leith*, to *Queens Ferry*; and there having imbarqued his men, *Thursday, July 17.* in the evening, this Brigade set toward, and the next morning very early, (being furthered by the wings of Sails and Oars) this little Fleet flew over the *Firth* into *Fife*, and landed at the North-Ferry, in spite of those showers of great and small shot that were poured upon them at their approaching the shoar : in exchange whereof, Colonel *Overton* caused his men to pay them in their own coyn, by firing upon them out of the Boats : which being performed with admirable courage and gallantry, made the Scots break off the dispute, and (notwithstanding their advantage of firm footing, when the English stood on a very tottering foundation) betake themselves to their heels, leaving behind them part of their Arms and Artillery.

*Overton* being thus landed, made good his ground, by causing his Souldiers to become Pioneers, and to intrench themselves, for greater security, untill more forces might come up to them : upon whose conjunction, they would be enabled to march up into the Countrey, without fear of any opposition. To this purpose, Messengers were with all speed posted away to the Lord General, to acquaint him with their good success, and the present posture of their affairs ; who thereupon immediately ordered a supply of two Regiments of Horse and two of Foot to be hastened

ed away with all expedition, under the conduct of Major-General *Lambert*.

The news of these passages arriving at the Scottish Camp, gave them so hot an Alarm, that in all haste Major-General *Brown* is dispatched away with four Regiments of Horse, and Major General *Holborn* with as many of Foot, to drive the English out of *Fife* again. But they lost their aim: for *Lambert* getting the start of them came up to the relief of *Overton*, ere they could approach to straiten him. The English being thus united, *Lambert* drew them up in Battalia in a very formal manner, in this order: His own Regiment of Horse, with the Dragoons of Colonel *Okey* and Colonel *Morgan*, made the Right Wing; Colonel *Lidcor*'s three Troops of Horse, with some Dragoons, made the Left: the Main Body consisted of the Regiments of Major-General *Lambert*, Colonel *West*, and Colonel *Daniel*, of Foot; with some odd Companies more, which were edged in to the greatest advantage.

The Scots finding the English in this posture, were not at all discouraged; but expressing greater resolution than usually they had done, set their men in Battel array, and stoutly confronted their adversaries. Both parties having faced each other for the space of an hour and an half, *Lambert* with the Right Wing of his Battel fell on the Enemy with great fierceness, giving the first Charge on the Scots Left Wing; which they (not flinching a foot) manfully maintained, returning like for like. Thus continuing for some time, the Scale of success standing in *aquipondio*, the Pistols ha-

ving



ving now done their part, the fury of these Antagonists grew to such a height, that flinging away those more cowardly weapons, every man drew upon his opposite, and with Swords point charged thorow each other. But this was too hot to hold: for the English being very dextrous in that kind of fighting, quickly routed the Enemies Left wing, and made them flee, leaving a fair field. Neither were the rest of the Forces on both sides idle spectators, but industriously acted their parts in their several stations. The Foot that constituted the Main Body of the English, traversing their ground, so reiterated their Vollies, that they seemed to cause an earthquake. But the Scotch Horse being utterly dissipated, their Foot could not stand long; who being left to the mercy of their Enemy, in this heat of blood, found it cruel, being little other than what was dispensed at the but end of their Muskets, (especially to the High-landers.) In a word, and that in plain English, so enraged were the English, that in a trice they bestrewed the place with 2000 Scots, or thereabouts, as so many objects of mortality.

Neither were their Captives inconsiderable, either for their quality or number, they being as followeth, *viz.* Major General *Brown* Commander in chief; one Colonel, one Lieutenant-Colonel, one Major, thirteen Captains, seventeen Lieutenants, nine and twenty Ensigns, five Quartermasters, six and twenty Sergeants, five and twenty Corporals, and one thousand two hundred twenty and six common souldiers, with forty and

two Colours of Horse and Foot. *Brown* having received this Defeat, (which consisted not only in the loss of so many considerable Forces, but the wounding of his Honour and Reputation, more valued than life by a Generous mind) and being himself reduced to the condition of a prisoner, survived not long; dying (as was conceived) of very grief for his hard fate.

But the English triumph in their victory, still seeking to augment it, by further Exploits: now the Terror of this Blow had spread it self into all the Scots Garisons; and therefore *Lambert* first of all summons the impregnable Fort of *Innesgarvey*, situate in an Isle lying in the *Frith*, betwixt *Queens Ferry*, and the Pals into *Fife*. The Garison here was possest with a pannick fear, that upon summons, they were content to march away with their swords only by their sides, (to shew what profession they were of) and leave the Fort, with all the Arms, Ammunition and provision, with sixteen pieces of Ordnance, behind them, for the use of the English.

The King having the report of this great overthrow of his Forces brought to *Torwood*, where he still lay strongly incamp, it wrought such a great distraction in his Army, that he very hastily dislodg'd, and marched into *Sterling Park*. But they could not be so quick in the retreat, but General *Cromwel* (who still waited upon them) was as nimble in the Reer; who although he had much diminished his Forces, by sending so many into *Fife*, yet still endeavoured to fight the whole Army of his Enemies, and marched after them through

through the ground they lately possess'd, and there found what pannick fear had possess'd them, who in haste had left behind them all their sick souldiers, one barrel of Powder, three of Ball, much Match, many Musquets, and three barrels of Hand-Gradoes. Thus the Lord General followed them with provocations to move them to fight, until he came within two miles of *Sterling*; but all to little purpose: for they would neither bark nor bite, but hasted away to secure themselves.

The Lord General seeing his stay here would be to little purpose, marched away his Army the 22 of *July* to *Lithgow*; whence he sent over into *Fife*, the greatest part of them, with the Train of Artillery, to prosecute the war on the other side of the water. Now there remaining only four Regiments of Horse, and four of Foot behind, those he made use of to secure what was already gained, and to keep a watchful eye on the Scots future Motions. The Lord General himself retired to *Leith*, there to take order for the supply of his Souldiers. Whilst he staid here, happy news of the surrender of *Brunt-Island* arrived to his Ears: for Major General *Lambert* prosecuting his good fortune, brought the Army before that Island, in hope that the sight of his Red-Coats might daunt them into a rendition. And herein he was not deceived: for no sooner was he come before it, but without one shot made, the Scots desired Articles to depart in peace: which *Lambert* (though a man of War) quickly condescended to; and so the place was yielded upon these Conditions.

1. *That the Souldiers in Garison (who were about five hundred) should march away with flying Colours.*

2. *That the Towns People should have what belonged to them.*

3. *That all provisions for War, together with all Guns and Shipping of War, should be delivered up for the use of the Common-wealth of England.*

This place was of great concernment: for besides the strength of it, it was a most commodious Harbour, and in many respects better than that at *Leith*; and from thence the Army in the progress of their Conquests, might have constant supplies of all necessaries.

The Lord General having dispatched his Affairs at *Leith*, made no stay, but immediately cross'd the *Frith*, to his Army then at *Brunt-Island*, where he finds all things governed by *Lambert*, with much Prudence and Policy; the Souldiers courageous, and Commissary-General *Whalley* with a strong Party of Horse abroad, scouring the Seaside of *Fife*, having some Men of War by Sea attending his Motion. The Activity of this excellent Commander was very eminent, who quickly subjugated many small Forts, and possess'd himself of all their Artillery, with the Ships and Pinaces that lay near them, for security.

Having now brought his Affairs to a very hopeful condition, the Lord General placed Colonel *West's* Regiment in *Brunt-Island*, and with the rest of the Army and Train of Artillery, *July 30. 1651.* he march'd away to reduce *St. Johnstons*, thereby to stop the High-landers from offering to send any Supplies to *Sterling*, either of Men or Provisions.

ons. The swiftness of this March was such, that in two days the English Army came within sight of the Town: and no sooner had they faced the same, but intelligence informed the Lord General what small resistance he was like to meet withal: which news was no way unwelcome, but most acceptable: for now 'twas hoped to obtain possession by words, not by swords; and therefore this Summons was sent in:

*That being informed the Town was void of a Garrison, save the inhabitants, and some few Country-men, he thought fit to send to them, to deliver the same to him immediately, and that he did thereby promise to secure their Persons from violence, and their goods from plunder.*

This Message was immediately sent away by a Trumpeter, who (as it was conceived) would blow open the Gates, and make a free entrance for the whole Army; but it fell out contrary to expectation: for this Messenger of Peace approaching one of the Gates, he was denied admittance, and returned back again by the Townsmen with a short Reply, *That they were not in a capacity to receive any Letters.* This slighting of Peace had like to have made them incapable of Mercy, but that a speedy excuse from the Magistrates of the Town was sent forth, to mend the matter, which declared, *That the Kings Majesty had sent a very strong Party, able to maintain the Town, and overpower them with a Governor: But always to observe civility with his Lordship, they had obtained leave from the Governour to excuse themselves, by shewing how unable they were to treat.*



This was strange, but not so strange as true. For the day before, the Lord *Dafferes* had entered the Town with 1300 Souldiers; and therefore General *Cromwel* once more resolved to try the strength of his pen in a new Summons to this new Governor, before they felt the fury of his sword. But this was to little purpose: for *Dafferes* would not return the least line or word in answer. This sullen silence caused the General to give a speedy Order for drawing away the Water out of the Motes round about the Town, whilst three Regiments of Foot, Colonel *Prides*, *Reads* and *Mali-verers*, boldly advanced and planted four great Guns, which plaid furiously into the Town: this continued for one night; but the Governor next day finding himself in an Error, was unwilling to persist any longer in it, for fear of being brought to the stool of Repentance; and therefore sent out to desire a Treaty: which being concluded upon, it was there agreed to deliver up the Town to the Lord General.

Thus the English Army run on in a continued Series of Successes, making all places that offered to withstand their invincible force, bow in obedience, and come under their command; and all this without the least opposition from the Scots grand Army, commanded by the King himself, which had lain long in and about *Sterling* strongly intrenched, as if their only design had been to defend themselves, fearing as 'twas thought) to offend their Enemies, and therefore continued their station to no other purpose than to bring up the Reer in *Cromwel's* Triumphs. But it fell out

out otherways: for the English Army having advanced as far Northwards as *St. Johnstons*, the King thought good to make use of the present opportunity, seeing his Affairs in *Scotland* were reduced to a desperate condition; and fearing the fate that hung over that Nation would inevitably fall upon his own head, did not he prevent it by some extraordinary means; therefore knowing a *desperate disease* requires a *desperate Cure*, and that being in a house ready to fall, it would be the safest course, by a sudden departure to save himself, by seeking a better Habitation; he presently took that course. To which end, first of all, casting up his force, he found it extended to about sixteen thousand strong: with these, and hopes of farther help from Friends, he resolves to venture for *England* it self, not doubting, if his success answered his desires, to hook in both *Scotland* and *Ireland* into the Bargain. This Resolution he resolves to put in execution, and therefore hastens his souldiers to drive on the design.

Thursday, *July ult.* 1651. all things being in readines the Scotch Army began their march from *Sterling*, and the sixth day after, entered *England*, by the way of *Carlisle*. The noise of this Irruption made a terrible Echo through all the Nation, especially in the ears of the Parliament at *Westminster*, who were much startled with the suddenness of the Action. But they (like vigilant *Stafists*) doubting such a thing would happen, had beforehand provided to welcome these new come Guests: and first of all, Major General *Harris-*

son, attended by 3000 Horse and Dragoons, joining himself with Colonel Rich, and some other great Commanders, marched away to salute them upon their entrance into *England*. Then an Act was issued forth, and sent into all the Counties of the Nation, to raise up the Militia into a present posture of Defence; and besides, to make all sure, another Act was presently sent abroad, which prohibited correspondence with *Charles Stuart*, or any of his Party; wherein it was enacted and declared,

*That no person whatsoever should presume to hold any correspondence with the said Charles Stuart, or with his Party, or with any of them, nor give any intelligence to them, nor countenance, encourage, abet, adhere to, or assist any of them, nor voluntarily afford, or cause to be afforded or delivered unto any of them, any Victuals, Provisions, Ammunition, Arms, Horses, Plate, Money, Men, or any other Relief whatsoever, under pain of High Treason. And that all persons should use their utmost endeavours to hinder and stop their March.*

Yet for all this, the Scots went on in prosecution of their present design, bending their course, by a swift March, for the west of *England*, where we will leave them, making more haste than good speed, and return back again to the Lord General *Cromwell*.

He having notice at *S. Johnstons*, that the Scots Army were gone to take up new Quarters in *England*, did immediately settle the Affairs of *Scotland* in a posture sufficient to secure what was already won; and leaving six thousand Horse and

Foot more, with Lieutenant General *Monk*, to reduce the rest, he causes Major General *Lambert* with five Regiments of Horse and Dragoons, to fly away with all possible speed, to get into the Rear of the Scots Army, whilst *Harrison* was in their Front; so to impede their March until himself could get up unto them. This being done, with the remainder of the Army, consisting of eight Regiments of Foot, two of Horse, and eight great Guns, this victorious General marched away, leaving *Scotland* (but not the remembrance of his being there) and on *August* 12. he with his Army, crossed *Tine*. With this swift march being quite tired out, he caused the Army to pitch their Tents on *Ryfon Haugh*, upon the brink of *Tine*; himself in the mean time quartering at *Stelly House*, near unto his Souldiers.

The Mayor of *New-Castle*, having notice of the Armies being thus near the Town, immediately went forth with the rest of the Magistrates, to congratulate the Generals arrival into *England*. And to make themselves welcome to the Souldiers, they carried along with them, for supply of the Army, Bread, Cheese, Bisket and Beer: these provisions were a great refreshing, and enabled the Souldiers with cheerfulness to undertake the future march.

In the mean time, the Scots with the King, marched on towards *Warrington Bridge*, where Major General *Harrison* resolved to make opposition against them, and if possible to hinder their passage over: but before they could break down the Bridge, the Scots by a swift March from *Char-*

ley came up ; and being necessarily engaged, they maintained a notable combate with those that offered to withstand them : here they had a small brush, but could very well afford it, for the loss was their gain (and so both sides were satisfied with the engagement) for though some of their men fell in the fight, yet they had their desire, which was to pass over the bridge. And now it was the great Question of all, whither they intended to bend their course ; most believed for *London*, being that was the Metropolis of the English Nation, a populous City, well furnished with a great Magazine of Men and Money ; the first, being the Wheels of War ; the last, the Oyl, which makes them turn nimbly about. But it seems the Scots look'd upon this as too hazardous, or else intended only to take the dimensions of the Land, and when that was done to return home again to their own Kingdom. However they marched on towards the West, shewing all civility to the people as they passed along ; and with such strict Discipline were they governed, that as their Army marched through *Shropshire*, a private Souldier for offering to enter an Orchard, was by his Officer immediately disbanded with a Bullet. By this severity their rough-hewn natures were so polished that if Necessity drove any private Souldier to a door, he durst speak no other Language, than *A Drink of Water*. But now at last their Peregrination ends at *Worcester* ; for coming thither, weak and weary with constant duty, and hard labour, having expected much, but finding little, they here resolved to take up their Quarters, hoping



ping *Massey's* former services in *Gloucestershire*, and those parts, was not quite buried in the Grave of Oblivion. But in this they found it otherwise: for although they might love his person well, yet seeing his parts ingaged against the Grain of the Times, it quite alienated the affections of those that otherwise might wish him well.

The King with his Army having thus entred *Worcester*, on Friday *Aug. 23. 1651.* resolved (being he could go no further) to tarry there, and abide the brunt: and therefore in the first place, because he would not be wanting in any thing that might conduce to the preservation of himself and forces, he caused works to be raised, for better security. Then he sent forth his Letters Mandatory to Colonel *Mackworth*, Governor of *Shrewsbury*; and likewise to Sir *Thomas Middleton*, to perswade them to raise Forces for him: but this proved fruitless; so that being now got as it were in a pound, there was no way, but to make the best of a bad bargain. And now the black and dismal clouds began to gather about *Worcester*, which portended a dreadful storm would quickly follow, as presently after it did: For victorious *Cromwel* (who by delays never contributed to approaching dangers) having refreshed his men near *Newcastle*, marched away without the least delay or loss of time, by *Rippon*, *Ferry-brigs*, *Doncaster*, *Mansfield* and *Coventry*, until he came to joyn with the rest of the Parliaments Forces at *Keinton* commanded by Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Major General *Desborough*, the Lord *Grey of Groby*, Major General *Lambert*, Major Gen. *Harrison*; and be-

rides all these, the Militia Forces out of every County were commanded to march away, and surround those wretched men at *Worcester*, that so a quick dispatch might be put to the work

Never was it known before in *England*, that such great forces were gathered together in so small a time; for the standing Army, with the rest of those Forces newly raised by act of Parliament, upon this occasion, could not amount to less than eighty thousand. But now the Lord General *Crommel* being come up, and having observed the posture that the Scotch Army lay in, began his work with an attempt upon *Upton* Bridge; there intending, if it was possible, to pass over his Army: this design was left to Major General *Fleetwoods* management, who presently sent away a small party of Horse and Dragoons to discover how feasible the attempt might be: this Party, though small, proved daring in a desperate attempt: for finding the bridge broken down, and nothing remaining, but only a beam of Timber that reached from one Arch to another, (which through negligence had been left by the Scots) these bold Fellows made no more ado, but dismounting their Horses one after another, rid over on this Wooden *Pegasus*, and presently after (having now recovered the other side) run themselves into a Church near to the bridge for security. Major General *Massey* being all this while in *Upton* with about 60 Dragoons, and 200 Horse, lying secure, without the least dread of an Enemy, imagining it impossible for any to come at him at that time, was upon the sudden report of this Exploit

plot so alarmed, that in great confusion, he with his men, gave a camisado on the Church: but that valiant Commander *Lambert*, highly prizing the worth of his men, immediately came in, with a new supply of Horse to their rescue. *Massey* now seeing that to fight would be meer folly, being much over matched, thought a timely retreat the only way to secure his men: which he performed with so much bravery, that sometimes facing, then fighting, and so falling off, himself brought up the Reer, and never left his station, until his men were got farther off, into safety. This encounter at last fell heavy on himself; for he not fearing his flesh, and despising the force of his Enemies, rencountred great difficulty in getting away, having received a shot in his hand.

The Bridge being thus won, all imaginable industry was imployed to make it up; so that in a small time, Lieutenant-General *Fleetwoods* Army marched over; which still pressing forward, they laid a Bridge of Boats over the River *Teame*, (on the west side of *Severn*, which gliding along, at last emptieth it self thereinto, about a mile beneath *Worcester*.) General *Cromwel*, in the mean time, caused another Bridge to be laid over the *Severn* on his side, that so the Enemy might be the more straitned.

Upon this, the Scots having taken the alarm, rise from the Leaguer at *St. Jones*, and with the greatest part of their Horse and Foot marched on to oppose the Lieutenant Generals passage. The Lord General seeing this, resolves to draw off the Enemy, and so divert his design, or else

inforce him to fight on great disadvantage; therefore himself in person led over the River (on that side of *Worcester* which he had undertook to attack) two Regiments of Foot, Colonel *Hackers* of Horse, and his own Life-Guard. In the mean time, *Fleetwood*, with the assistance of Colonel *Goff's*, and Major General *Dean's* Regiments of Foot, marched on to a hedge-fight: for the Scots looking upon this as the safest way, had lined the hedges thick with Musquetiers: so that the Bushes must first be beaten, before these Birds could be taken. This was not long in doing; for the English falling on, performed a brave fight from hedge to hedge: the Scots on the other side, not losing any thing that could be kept, but manfully maintaining their ground, until Colonel *Blake*, *Gibbons*, and *Marshes* Regiments came in to lay more load on their shoulders; then they retreated to *Pawick* Bridge, where again they were engaged with Col. *Hayns*, Col. *Cobbets*, and Col. *Matthew's* Regiments, in another hot dispute: but at length, seeing they could not prevail, they provided for their own security by running into *Worcester*.

And now disperation animated their courage having already tried their fortune with Lieut. Gen. *Fleetwood*, (they imagining him to have commanded the greater force) they hoped to make a more fortunate sally against General *Cromwel*; therefore upon the sudden, they sallied out against him, with all the Horse and Foot they could; but (as it proved) with sad success, for though at first they shewed such activity in their Arms, that Ge-  
 neral

General *Cromwells* men were forced a little to retire, yet presently the multitudes of fresh men coming in, so turned the scales, that the Scots were wholly routed, flying away in great confusion, to save themselves: the Horse flew amain back again, towards the North; but the Foot not able to keep company, ran into *Worcester*, with some of the Victors at their heels. Whilst, in the mean time, General *Cromwel*, to make sure work, with a few Regiments of Foot, ran up to the Royal Fort; and being ready to storm, his clemency was seen, in venturing his person through the showers of shot, and offering the Scots quarter if they would presently yield. But they being infatuated, refused the proffer, which caused their too late repentance; for the Lord General falling on, quickly possessed the Fort, and all the Artillery that was therein.

The City being now won, the souldiers furiously fly through all the streets, doing such execution, that nothing could be seen for some time, but blood and slaughter, until at last, the sack of the Town, and plunder of Prisoners having satisfied their appetites, they fall to securing of Prisoners, which (both in fight and flight) amounted to about 10000, the principal whereof were Duke *Hamilton* (who in five days after died of his wounds) the Earl of *Lauderdale*, the Earl of *Derby*, the Earl of *Carmworth*, the Earl of *Rothe*, the Earl of *Kelley*, the Earl of *Cleveland*, the (afterwards) Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lord *Spine* and *Sinclair*, Sir *John Packington*, Sir *Charles Cunningham*, Sir *Ralph Clare*, Mr. *Richard Fanshawe*, Secretary



cretary to the King ; Colonel *Graves*, Major General *Biscotty*, Major General *Montgomery* : besides these were taken 6 Colonels of Horse, 13 of Foot, 9 Lieutenant-Colonels of Horse, 8 of Foot, 6 Majors of Horse, 13 of Foot, 37 Captains of Horse, 72 of Foot, 90 Quartermasters, 89 Lieutenants of Foot, the Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, the Adjutant General of the Foot, the Marshal General, the Quarter-master General, the Conductor General of the Baggage, seventy six Cornets of Horse, ninety nine Ensigns of Foot ; there were also taken an hundred and fifty eight Colours, ( which were hung up in *Westminster-Hall* ) and all the Cannon and Baggage generally, the Royal Standard, the Kings Coach and Horses, and Collar of S.S. and eighty of the Kings Servants. Of all that were taken Prisoners two only suffered death, *viz.* the Earl of *Derby* and Sir *Tim. Featherstone*. Those slain in the Battel were near 3000. so that near all was lost, only some few Horse excepted, which escaped out of the Battel ; but these found their flight to stand them in little stead : for Major General *Harrison* with a fresh party, fiercely pursued in their Reer, whilst the Country people fronted and flanked them like little Beagles, which when a Mastiff is once beaten, will not let him pass without a snarl at his tail, and fiercely pursue him, whom before they durst not look in the face.

This Battle put a period to the Kings hopes of obtaining the Government by force of Arms ; and on the other side gave General *Cromwel* an absolute security of all his former Conquests, the influence

fluence whereof (though acted in *England*) was great in *Scotland*: their chief Nobility, Gentry, and private souldiers being thus cut off, that Nation could no longer be able to hold up its head, but quickly after must needs be brought under obedience to the Commonwealth of *England*: as it fell out soon after.

The Parliament at *London* having speedy notice of this prosperous success received it with grateful acceptance. But that which abated somewhat of their Triumphs, was, That the King could not be numbred among the Captives, nor found among the slain, but was escaped: for he seeing that all the Enemies aim was only to smite him, and that they *did not fight so much against small or great, as against the King of Scots*; finding the battel to go hard on his side, he left caring to provide for others, to provide for himself: knowing full well, that should he be taken, he might expect no better treatment than his Father had. Therefore he hastened with all speed toward *Lancashire*; but by the way (doubting that much company would do him little good, but rather be a means to cause his sooner discovery) leaving the Road, he wandered for some time about *England*, till at last, finding a fit opportunity, he returned back again into *France*.

The Lord General *Cromwel* having given this deadly blow at *Worcester*, September 3. 1651. which laid the Scots hopes low in the dust, and thereby raised to himself a full assurance of the security of all his former Conquests, tarried no longer in that City, than to see the Walls of it levelled to the  
N ground,

ground, and the Dikes fill'd with Earth, that do the disaffection of the inhabitants might be bridled from attempting to secure any future Enemy. And now leaving this *Golgotha*, he hastened away to offer his victorious Palms at the Parliaments feet: Accordingly, *September 12.* approaching near to *London*, the Speaker, with the Members of Parliament, and the Lord President of the Council of State, with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and some hundreds more of Quality, met him with demonstrations of extream affection, to congratulate all his Noble Atchievements, and Worthy Exploits: here they comment on his Valour, making large notes on his Victories: the more, because he had done much in a small time, bringing that about in fifteen Months, which was rather judged to be the work of so many years; having in this time quite dispelled those Vapours (fearful to the Parliament) which were exhaled by the Rays of Regality, and once more made the serenity of Peace to shine in our Hemisphere. Thus the Lord General was received in Triumph, (having before sent his Trophies the *Scotch* Prisoners) with great acclamations, and conducted to his house near *Whiteball*. And after some small repose there, he and his valiant Lieutenant General went to take up their places in the Parliament, where the Speaker in a congratulatory Oration acknowledged the Obligation of the State to them for their indefatigable industry.

The same day the Lord Mayor of *London* (to compleat the rejoycing, and shew his gratitude in behalf of the City) feasted the General and his

his chief Officers. This being ended, with mutual returns of thanks, the Lord General took his leave, and returned back again, to consider what was further to be done for the settlement of the nation : This is his next Work ; And what he did in order to the accomplishing thereof, we now come to shew.

---

*His Actions in the Protectorship.*

THE English Nation having by a Civil War banished Monarchy with an *Exit Tyrannus*, presently institute an Oligarchy, which (to give them their due) acted in their Infancy like *Hercules* in the Cradle, stifling all those Serpents that offered to *Hiss* against their Authority ; and with such vigor prosecuted they their designs, that both *Ireland* and *Scotland* were enforced to yield obedience to their commands.

The Authority of this Power being thus miraculously extended, it grew at length dreadful to the neighbouring Nations, especially the Dutch, a people who of all others, were most sensible of the growing greatness of the English Commonwealth : they knowing full well, that two neighbouring States of equal greatness could never long agree, being still jealous of each others actions : which jealousy causing misconstruction, would at last break forth into open hostility.

Examples are frequent in this kind ; *Rome* and *Carthage* so long contended, till the one was ended :

They first fell out about the Island of *Sicily*, and by degrees this feud extended it self through all those Nations where either side had any dominion. But at last a peace being patched up, it continued until the second Panick War, wherein *Carthage* was made a Puny indeed, and brought under subjection to *Rome*.

Another Example we have in that most noble Republick of *Venice*, whose first Founders being hunted by the barbarous *Huns*, out of *Italy*, were fain to shelter themselves by flying unto some little barren Islands, which lay in the *Adriatick* Gulph; where necessity putting an edge upon industry, caused these people to begin an admirable Structure, which since hath been increased to such a magnitude and splendor, that it may well be termed, *The worlds wonder*, for the excellent Architecture, multitude of Bridges, rare Arsenal or Magazine: but above all, the Policy of this State surpasseth all others in Government, and may well be a pattern for direction and imitation to any people in the world.

*Venice* thus gradually ascending to eminency, grew so great as to challenge the superiority over all the watry Element about it; as well it might, being situate therein, and therefore *Nephtunes* Minion. This City being on one side of *Italy*, on the other side lay *Genoua*, situate near the feet of the *Apennine Hills*; a Commonwealth too, and therefore aspiring high, grew emulous of the Venetians greatness, which made those two Republicks grow at enmity. The first occasion of their falling out, was about a Church allowed them both



for exercise of Divine Service, in *Ptolemais*, commonly called *Acoe*, in *Syria*: this Church being too little to hold both people of such great spirits; there grew a hot Dispute whose it should be; which came to this issue, That it must be theirs that could get possession; which proved to be the *Genoese*s, who to maintain their *Moss*, armed the Church with Fortifications (nor for example to after Ages) and so kept it wholly to their own Use: Thus began the Quarrel, which continued for many years, chiefly by Sea, till at last the *Genoese*s received such dangerous shot betwixt wind and water, that they were fain to cry Quarter, and ever since vail to *Venice*, acknowledging it their superior.

Even so was it between these two mighty Republicks, *England* and the United Provinces. The Dutch fearing that current of Traffick would be stopped which they had so long enjoyed, by reason of *Englands* Domestick and Foreign Wars, themselves, mean while, having Peace with all Nations (except *Portugal*) whereby they increasing their Trade by an un-interrupted fishing in the British Seas, and still greedy in their unsatiable appetite of ingrossing all to themselves, without either Right or Reason; grew at last highly conceited of their own abilities both as to Policy and Power. Their Policy was seen in giving assistance to the Enemies of the English Parliament, whilst in the mean time, their Ambassadors tickled the Council of State and Parliament into a belief their Masters real affections and hearty wishes for their prosperity. But these unworthy actions being privately suspected, it was

## 166 *His Actions in the Protectorship,*

not long before they were publickly detected; This put the Dutch to their *Trumps*, and made them arm out a considerable *Navy*, to execute a design upon the Isle of *Scilly*, which then was in possession of the King's Forces. But the Council of State in *England* having timely notice of this project, dispatched away *Blake* (their noble General by Sea) with a Fleet of Men of War, who being joyned with Sir *George Aiscough* immediately prevented the Dutch, by reducing that Island under obedience.

The Parliament of *England* having seriously considered the unhandsome actions of these their near Neighbours, how refractory they were upon all Treaties of Amity, which was seen by their refusing those Propositions which were sent to them; and how those honourable Persons that carried them to *Holland*, were daily so ill treated at the *Hague* by some insolent persons, that the Parliament, lest their Embassadors should be again *Dorsslaue'd*, called them home *Reinfelct*: Presently upon this they were forced to take up a resolution to maintain the Right of their Jurisdiction on the British Seas, and therefore sent abroad an Act for encouraging Navigation, and increase of shipping. This very much heightned the spirits of the English Sea-men, and gave them hopes of being one day even with the Dutch, for eating the bread out of their mouths, as they had long before done, by bringing all Commodities into *England*, at cheaper rates than they could be sent for, by reason they were in amity with most Nations, and could send out ships with no more men than

what

what served to sail them; whilst in the main time, the English (having Wars with most of their Neighbours) were inforc't to be at great charges in double manning out their Merchant Men, for security of the ships lading. But to proceed.

This noble *Act* being arrived at *Holland*, very strangely changed the constitution of that People, from a Flegmatick to a perfect Sanguine Complexion: for now they saw it was time to look about them, being like to be deprived of that sweet profit which before they did enjoy: This animated them on to try conclusions, in denying the English their undoubted Right of Dominion in the British Seas. The which was first done by three Dutch Men of war with divers Merchants from the *Streights*, who being discovered by one Captain *Young* (May 14. 1652.) that commanded some English Frigats, he sent to their Admiral to bid him strike his Flag (a thing usually done in acknowledgement of the English dominion in the narrow Seas) which accordingly he did. Then came up the Vice-Admiral, and being called so as the other was to take down his Flag, he answered plainly he would not; but after the exchange of four or five broadsides, and mischief done on either part, he took it down: but notwithstanding that, Captain *Young* demanded either the Vice-admiral himself, or his ship, to make satisfaction for the damages already sustained. To which the Vice-admiral answered that he had taken in his Flag, but would defend himself and his ship: whereupon Captain *Young* consulting with the Captains of his other Ships; left

268 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

the beginning of the War should be charged upon himself, and might also coming on, it was thought fit he should proceed no further. But though thus past over, yet by degrees one quarrel begetting another, the fire no longer smothered, but broke forth into a dreadful combustion; all preceding ages since the Creation, never having produced such terrible Sea-fights, which ever light heavy on the Dutch shoulders, and made them know, That although *Holland* was the elder *State*, yet was it impossible for them to make *England* a younger Brother.

But in the midst of all these high undertakings, the Lord General perceiving the Parliaments intentions were to perpetuate their sitting, as appeared by their dilatory proceeding in the Bill for successive Representatives; therefore knowing, that as standing water would breed corruption, and grow offensive, if it were not sometimes changed: so Parliaments perpetual were offensive to the Peoples Priviledges; but when *pro tempore*, pleasant to their sight. He having well weighed the matter, and deliberately debated the business with his Council of Officers, it was at last agreed by them to serve the Parliament with a Writ of Eafe, and to make them understand the meaning of *Exit* — This resolution being taken up, the Lord General Cromwell went into the House, April 23. 1653. attended only with *Fleetwood*, and about a dozen souldiers commanded to wait at the door. Being entered he spake thus: *You have sufficiently deluded the people, and provided for your own and your Relations benefit,*  
possessing

possessing these seats, under pretence of forming a Commonwealth, of reforming the Laws, and promoting the publick good, you have imposed on the Kingdom; whilst in the mean time you have only invaded the goods of the Common-wealth, have thrust your selves and relations into the gainfullest and most honourable offices, only to nourish luxury and impiety. Then stamping on the ground with his foot, (which was the token to the souldiers standing at the door) For shame, says he, rise quickly hence, give place to those that are honestest, and will better perform their trusts. Whereupon they all began to leave the House; and the Speaker not rising readily out of the Chair, Harrison did gently heave him out of it; and so after they were all gone out, the doors were shut up.

Thus this mighty Parliament was dissolved, who first of all were called through the importunity of the people, and afterwards upheld by the zealous devotion of the City of London, whose inhabitants, through their abundant affections, made them a free-will offering of all their Ear-rings, Boutkins, Thimbles, and Jewels, to carry on the weighty great work of routing Popery, beating down of Antichrist, suppressing Superstition; and out of all, to raise up a Glorious Structure of Reformation.

To answer expectations, this Senate began the work with the Kings evil Council, and having lopped them off, drove on to such great Actions, that the faith of after Ages will be much puzzled to believe, and rather look upon them as Romances than Realities. But now their time being come,



270 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

come, after twelve years sitting, they were annihilated, and the power transferred into the hands of others.

Presently upon this, the Lord General Cromwell and his Council of Officers published a Declaration, shewing the Reasons of the Parliaments Dissolution; the substance whereof was this:

**T**Hat after God was pleased marvellously to appear for his People, in reducing Ireland and Scotland to so great a degree of Peace, and England to perfect quiet; whereby the Parliament had opportunity to give the People the harvest of all their Labour, Blood and Treasure; and to settle a due Liberty in reference to Civil and Spiritual things: whereunto they were obliged by their duty, engagements, and those great and wonderful things God hath wrought for them: But they made so little progress therein, that it was matter of much grief to the good people of the Land; who thereupon applied themselves to the Army, expecting redress by their means, who (though unwilling to meddle with the Civil Authority) agreed that such Officers as were Members of Parliament should move them to proceed vigorously, in reforming what was amiss in the Commonwealth, and in settling it upon a foundation of Justice and Righteousness: which being done, it was hoped the Parliament would have answered their expectations.

But finding the contrary, they renewed their desires by an humble Petition in August 1652. which produced no considerable effect, nor was any such progress made therein, as might imply their real intentions to accomplish what was petitioned for; but rather

## His Actions in the Protectorship. 171

rather an averſeneſs to the things themſelves, with much bitterness and oppoſition to the people of God and his Spirit acting in them: inſomuch that the Godly Party in Parliament were rendred of no further uſe, than to countenance the ends of a corrupt Party, for effecting their deſires of perpetuating themſelves in the Supreme Government.

For obviating theſe evils, the Officers of the Army obtained ſeveral meetings with ſome of the Parliament, to conſider what Remedy might be applied to prevent the ſame; but ſuch endeavours proving ineffectual, it became evident, that this Parliament, through the corruption of ſome, the jealouſie of others, the non-attendance of many, would never answer thoſe ends which God, his people, and the whole Nation expected from them; But that this Cauſe which God had ſo greatly bleſſed, muſt needs languish under their hands, and by degrees be loſt; and the Lives, Liberties and Comforts of his people be delivered into their enemies hands.

All which being ſadly and ſeriouſly conſidered by the honeſt people of the Nation, as well as by the Army, it ſeemed a Duty incumbent upon us, who had ſeen ſo much of the power and preſence of God, to conſider of ſome effectual means whereby to eſtabliſh Righteouſneſs and Peace in theſe Nations.

And after much debate, it was judged neceſſary, that the Supreme Government ſhould be by the Parliament devolved upon known perſons, fearing God, and of approved integrity for a time, as the moſt hopeful way to countenance all Gods people, reform the Law, and adminiſter Juſtice impartially: hoping thereby the people might forget Monarchy, and underſtand their true

true interest in the Election of successive Parliaments, that so the Government might be settled upon a right Basis, without hazard to this glorious Cause, or necessitating to keep up Armies for the defence of the same.

And being still resolved to use all means possible to avoid extraordinary courses, we prevailed with about twenty Members of Parliament, to give us a conference, with whom we plainly debated the necessity and justness of our proposals: The which found no acceptance, but instead thereof it was offered, That the way was, to continue still this Parliament, as being that from which we might probably expect all good things. This being vehemently insisted on, did much confirm us in our apprehensions, That not any love to a Representative, but the making use thereof to recruit, and so to perpetuate themselves, was their aim, in the Act they had then under consideration.

For preventing the consummating whereof, and all the sad and evil consequences, which upon the grounds aforesaid must have ensued, and whereby at one blow the interest of all honest men, and of this glorious Cause had been endangered to be laid in the dust, and these Nations embroyled in new troubles, at a time when our Enemies abroad are watching all advantages against, and some of them actually engaged in War with us; we have been necessitated (though with much reluctancy) to put an end to this Parliament.

This Declaration being sent abroad into all the Dominions of the Commonwealth, was readily assented to by most of the chief Officers, both by Land and Sea. But for further satisfaction to the Civil Power in the Nation, whereby a right understanding might be had, and that every one might

might still (notwithstanding this sudden change) observe his Duty, the former Declaration was seconded by this ensuing.

**W** Hereas the Parliament being dissolved, persons of approved fidelity and honesty, are (according to the late Declaration of the 22 of April last) to be called from the several parts of this Commonwealth to the Supreme Authority; and although effectual proceedings are and have been had, for perfecting those resolutions, yet some convenient time being required for the assembling of those persons, it hath been found necessary for preventing the Mischiefs and Inconveniencies which may arise in the meanwhile to the publick Affairs, that a Council of State be constituted, to take care of, and intend the peace, safety and present management of the Affairs of this Commonwealth: which being settled accordingly, the same is hereby declared and published, to the end all persons may take notice thereof, and in their several places and stations, demean themselves peaceably, giving obedience to the Laws of the Nation as heretofore: in the exercise and administration whereof, as indeavours shall be used that no oppression or wrong be done to the people, so a strict accompt will be required of all such as shall do any thing to indanger the publick peace and quiet, upon any pretence whatsoever.

O. CROMWELL

April 30.

1653.

These

These wonderful Revolutions mightily heightened the Resolutions of the Dutch, who were wholly possess'd with Chimæra's of their own inventions, imagining their work would be very easie, if the English should happen to fall together by the ears, amongst themselves. But GOD by his Providence had so ordered it, that the Nation continued in a peaceable posture, not any offering in the least to resist the Commands of their Superiors.

The like was seen amongst the Naval Forces at Sea, whose vivacity was now as great as ever, both Officers, Seamen, and Souldiers minding nothing more than how to gain honour to their Country, by repressing the insolencies of their Enemies whose endeavours at this time were to rob *England* of her Right.

But now the Lord General having taken upon himself to wield both the Sword and the Scepter, the first remarkable passage that befel him, was at Sea, between the two mighty Antagonists. The Dutch having ready in their Harbours a very great Fleet of Merchant men, outward bound for *France*, *Spain*, and other Ports, all things being fitted and prepared for the Sea, those High and Mighty States added ninety men of War to secure them from those dangerous Fellows, the English. This Fleet being all ready, hoist up sail, bidding amain for the North of *Scotland*; it seems rather chusing to make a long and sure Voyage that way, than a short and dangerous one through *St. George* his chanel, which had many times proved fatal to their Fleets, notwithstanding



*His Actions in the Protectorship. 1675*

standing the protection of their best Commanders. *Trump* having according to his Commission, conducted his charge so far, that they feared no other enemy than the winds and waves, immediately tacked about for the *Sound*, from whence he brought away a great Fleet of *East-Land* Merchant-men, from *Russia*, *Denmark*, *Dantzick*, and other parts; to which was joyned a Fleet from *France*, laden with Wine, Salt, and other Commodities of that Country: having in safety brought all these home, he entred the Ports of *Holland* and *Zealand* with so much Bravery, and so great a Flourish, that those persons that knew not the matter, might have thought him dragging the English Generals at the Stern of his Ship, in Triumph.

This good Fortune being seconded with a report of the English Fleet being gone Northward under the Command of General *Monk* and *Dean*, so highly animated *Min here Martin Harper*, that with all his Men of War he presently set sail for the *Downs*, to act that in the absence of the English Fleet, which he durst not do in their presence.

Being come into the *Downs*, *May 25.* the Dutch Fleet, consisting of 108. Ships, ranged themselves before *Dover*, where they expressed a great deal of small valour, in beating down with great shot the Chimnies of that Town; and with so much resolution and spirit did they perform this worthy exploit, that not any of their ships offered to run away, all the while. This Action of *Trump's* was looked upon by all to favour more of Arrogance

rogance than Valour: for a gallant souldier will scorn to meddle with him that is incapable of defence, but rather measure weapons with his Enemy before the fight: neither should a General content himself with making a few Tiles fly from the tops of Houses, in a poor Town; which can be but small credit to himself, and not much damage to his Enemy.

But we shall see that *Van Trump* will meet with such a match as will give him opportunity enough to exercise his courage to the utmost: for the two Generals *Monk* and *Dean*, upon the sudden returned from the North into *Tarmouth-Road*, where they joyned with that Fortrels of his Country, General *Blake*, having 18 ships more: These on the 3<sup>d</sup> of *June* 1653. lying at Anchor three leagues off the south head of the *Gober*, early in the morning descried two Dutch Galliots, which presently were chased by some of the English Frigats so far, that they came within ken of the whole Dutch Fleet. Upon this discovery, the Frigats made the usual signs, which were presently apprehended by the whole Fleet, who immediately weighing their Anchors, the English made up with all the sail they could: but the wind being weak, 'twas 12 at noon before these mighty Armadoes could ingage.

The first days work proved hot on both sides, for three hours; in which Dispute the English lost General *Dean*, who unfortunately fell by a great shot. To balance this, the Dutch had three ships sunk and one blown up.

The next day, both Fleets indeavoured to try another bout, but there being little wind nor wine stirring, but *Brandy*, which was very brisk in the Dutch Fleet, it was late that day before the English could get up to give them Gun-powder to it. This second days fight was managed with abundance of valour, both Fleets charging lustily upon one another. *Van Trump* to shew his skill in Sea fights, at first brought up his Navy in very good Order, having the advantage of that little wind then stirring (for the Sea looked with a smooth face upon these mighty Enemies) But the English Generals, *Blake* and *Monk*, who were not behind-hand in making use of any opportunity, finding the wind upon the sudden to veer about westerly, drove in amongst the thickest of their Enemies, with so much fury, that the Dutch fearing to feed those that had so many times been food to them, tacked about, and with all the Sail that possibly could be made, steered their course for their own Coasts. The English seeing their Enemies thus fly before them, thought it not safe to pursue, being near the Flats, and having great ships that drew much water. Wherefore some small Frigats being sent to discover the Enemies course, the rest cast Anchor in good Order to cast up accounts, and see what was got or lost by this Adventure; which proved in full, to be thus:

# 178 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

Of the Dutch slain, no certain account.

Dutch Prisoners in possession 1330

Captains captiv'd 16

Men of War taken 11

Sunk 6

## Of the English

Slain 120

Captains 1

Wounded 236

Ships lost or disabled 10

This inconsiderable loss on the English side being well recompensed with so considerable a Damage to the Dutch, caused the two English Generals (being no ways disabled by the fight) to keep the Sea, and resolve to follow the present advantage to the full; therefore having new trimmed their torn sails, and shatter'd Rigging, they immediately made all the haste that could be, to block up the Dutch Harbours; letting *Trump* see that now his Bravadoes were transferred from the *Downs*, to his own Doors, and that the Fleet which a little before he thought good to send *Hue* and *Cry* after, were now come to dare him upon his own Dunghil: the English at Sea, lying thus before the *Texel*, *Wielings*, and other Ports of *Holland*, taking Prizes at pleasure.

General *Cromwel* at Land (mean while) prepares for a new Parliament, in whose hands the Legislative Power of the Nation was to be put to that purpose, persons being chosen by himself to the number of one hundred forty four, on

of the three Nations of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, they made their appearance at *Westminster*, on *July 4. 1653.* (the day prefix in their *Summons*) in the Council Chamber at *White-hall* where *General Cromwel* being present, attended by many Officers of the Army, made a short Speech; which being ended, by a writing under his own hand and seal, he impowered them to be the Supreme Authority and Governors of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, with all the Territories thereunto belonging: and that any forty of them should be a *Quorum*, sufficient to dispatch business, make Laws, and order all things as they should see good; only for their limitation the Instrument ordered their sitting not to exceed the third of *November 1654.* and that three months before their Dissolution, they were to make choice of other persons, to whom they were to deliver up their powers. Having delivered his Instrument to the Members, the Lord General dismiss them with a Benediction (being very good at it) wishing the Blessing of *GOD* might go along with them and their Counsels. Immediately hereupon, the Members adjourned to the old Parliament House, where having first appointed *Mr. Rouse* to be Speaker, a great debate arose among them what to call themselves, whether a Parliament, or something else: at last it was carried in the affirmative, That they were a Parliament; in which name, all Addresses to them were to be made.

Being thus settled, they began (though scarce pen-feathered) to soar high, and at first dash to strike both at Law and Gospel.



110 . *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

But whilst these things were under debate, *John Lilburn*, whose turbulent Spirit in the time of the Long Parliament, had procured his Banishment, presuming at this time to be again admitted into the Nation, very confidently addrest himself to the Lord General, craving his Protection. But he knowing full well of what spirit *John* was, would take no notice of him, but left him to the Law, by which he underwent a strict Trial, and by the favour of his Jury was acquitted.

This man was ever observed to be of an ambitious mind, always affecting Popularity, and therefore ever barking against the Higher Powers; first against the Bishops, then against the King; next, against the Parliament; and indeed, against every one that stood in his way. Likewise so fickle in his own Principles, that trundling from one Opinion to another, he at last fell down into the sink of Quakerism, in which he died, and was buried like himself, being hurried along the streets, from the Mouth near *Aldersgate*, by a confused medley of Levellers and Quakers. But to Sea again.

The English Fleet having out-Trumped the Dutch, and made their *Neptune* fly to Land for shelter, they improved their advantage to the utmost, by blocking up the Ports of *Holland* and *Zealand*, so that not a ship durst pass in or out, but was immediately made Prize. Among those that were taken, were two laden with great Guns, one carrying one hundred sixty two, the other one hundred ninety one.

These daily losses filled the people with rage and

and madness, seeing they were deprived of Traffick, by which they chiefly subsisted; and if that was obstructed, nothing but a deep consumption would quickly follow. The States General sitting at the Helm, and foreseeing the sad consequence of the present War, seriously debated which way to free themselves from that imminent danger that now hung over their heads. To accomplish this, there were but two ways; either by Force to repel Force, or by Treaty to procure Peace. To put both these in execution, four Commissioners were dispatched away immediately for *London*, to treat of a Reconciliation; and in the mean time, all imaginable preparations were made to prosecute the War, that so peace might be obtained on better Terms.

Whilst they are thus providing to run the hazard of one blow more, it will not be much amiss to give a rough draught of Naval Combats. An ancient Philosopher laughed heartily at the folly of those that durst be so bold to venture themselves at Sea, within two inches of death, for profit. If to sail in a ship so much deserves laughing at, what folly then (nay madness) is it to fight, when all the Elements conspire to make an end of the Combatants? For, the Timber, which is the material substance of a Ship, may be accounted Earth out of which it is produced, and easily giveth way to penetration by the impartial Bullet, which seldom hits the Hull without Execution, making those Planks fly into splinters, and become the instruments of death, which before were looked upon as a defence and safe-guard from

O 3

the

the Enemies shot. The infinite numbers of great Guns belching forth fire and smoak, so that the superficies of the water seemeth to concreate with its contrary Element: whilst the serenity of the Air is obfuscated by Clouds of Smoak, the Combatants, mean while, eager to grapple with each other, are lost in a fog: In one place is to be seen a ship converted into a Bone-fire; and her men fearful to fry, fling themselves voluntarily into a cooler kind of death: In another place is a Vessel depopulated of all her Inhabitants, without Masts, Yards, Tackle, or any other thing that is necessary for her guide; and thus she floats about in a desperate condition. Here are men wanting ships, and there are ships wanting men: and nothing is more studied, than how to alter the natural verdure of the Sea, with the sanguine Purple of humane slaughter. This Confusion rides in Triumph; and death at one instant appeareth in various shapes: a neglected match, or accidental spark, being got into the Powder, in a trice conquers the Conquerors, and makes them fly, who before were pursuers. The water, as that bears the Burthen, so it claims a great share in destroying: for at the redoubling sound of the thundring shot, the Billows being backt with a puff of wind, dance a Courant to this doleful musick, and readily attend the destruction of those Vessels that are batter'd betwixt wind and water.

This being the Theorick of Sea-service, let us now see the Practick, as it was acted by the two mighty Antagonists.

The

The two Generals *Blake* and *Monk*, with the English Fleet, had now danced attendance at the Dutch doors, for two months together, in all which time, *Van Trump* was preparing the utmost strength that possibly could be made, by the indefatigable industry of the States General. Their Navy being new rigged and tallowed, was set afloat, consisting of 120 sail of Men of War. The most of these lay at the *Wielings*, the rest in the *Texel*. And now to incourage and raise up the resolution of the Sea-men, that so they might achieve mighty matters, a Proclamation is made, that all the shipping they could take from the English, being Men of War, should be their own; besides some thousands of Gilders to those that durst take the English Admiral, and a proportionable sum for him that could take the Vice-Admiral or his Flag: these promises, with an addition of Brandy-wine, tipt the Dutch mens tongues with valour. *Van Trump* having now all things in readiness, set sail in hopes to return a compleat Victor, thereby to wipe off the stain which formerly had been flung upon his reputation.

July 29. 1653. The English Scouts discovered 95 Men of War to come bravely sailing from the *Wielings*: they soon knew them to be Enemies, and therefore gave notice, that the whole Fleet (which then lay about three leagues off to Sea) might make up: but the wind facing the English, kept them from the Engagement, until six a Clock in the evening; when about thirty nimble Frigats (the rest being still at Stern) began the encounter, and so continued until night parted them.

#### 184 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

This first days fight did only whet their appetites to the ensuing slaughter; for all this night the Dutch bore away towards the *Texel*, where joyned with them, 25 sail of stout men of War: these were the prime ships of their Navy, whereon they chiefly relied. Their Fleet being thus reinforced by this conjunction, *Van Trump* immediately endeavoured to put all in a fighting posture, to engage the next day; but the night proving foul, the wind in a rough note threatned the poor English with destruction, either on the Flats, or else on a Lee shoar. To prevent these disasters, *Monk*, with the English Fleet, set sail, and stood out to sea: this sight made the Dutch to suppose a flight, insomuch that one of their Captains desired *Van Trump* to pursue: For (saith he) *these Schellums dare not stand one Broad Side from your Excellency: you may see them plainly running home, and therefore, my Lord, miss not the opportunity.* This was not the first time that *Trump* had seen the English at Sea, and therefore returned the Captain this short answer: *Sir, look to your Charge, for were the Enemy but twenty Sail, they would never refuse to fight us.* So it fell out: for the weather proving fair and calm, the English contracted their Fleet together, and in a Body tack'd about to meet the Enemy. Neither was *Trump* behind-hand to meet his resolute Adversary; but with as much speed as care he brought his Navy into such a form, as sufficiently manifested the excellent skill he had in managing Marine Affairs. The Morning to this fatal day proved somewhat gloomy, so that it seemed the Sun was ashamed to behold the ensuing slaughters.



*His Actions in the Protectorship.* 185

slaughters. About five a Clock in the morning, the Dutch having the Wethergage, began the fight somewhat at a distance; but it was not long before both Fleets were desperately engaged board and board. Now, (as a modern Poet expresseth it)

*The Slaughter-breathing Brads grew hot, and spoke*

*In Flames of Lightning, and in Clouds of Smoke,*

*Till the discolour'd Billows dy'd in Grain,  
Blusht to behold such Shambles of the Slain.*

Never was fight upon the Sea better managed and maintained, than this. The *Andrew* (which deserved Saintship for the service) lust aboard *Trumps* own Ship, but was quickly haled off by a Fire-ship which stuck like a Plaister to her side, so that in a trice the Tackle blazed like a Torch; and had it not been for the wonderful courage of some few Sea-men, she had then undoubtedly perished. The like disaster fell upon the *Triumph* a second rate Ship, which sometimes encountred many at once, but still triumphed over all, till at last a great *Flemish* ship fet her on fire; which began to rage in such a terrible manner, that it wrought the greatest confusion imaginable in the distracted Company; some of them chusing the Flood before the Flame, leaped overboard and were drowned. The example of those few that ended their lives in this desperate condition, made the rest double their diligence, to save themselves and Ship: which was last performed;

performed ; so that the medley growing great, and the fury of the Sailers and Souldiers having banished all fear, they boldly board one another. The *Rainbow*, an English Ship, having a long time striven to make prize of others, was at last like to be surpris'd her self, had not the *Oak* seeing the danger of her fellow, bore in to the rescue : but this charitable deed reduced the *Oak* to Ashes, she being destroyed by a Fire ship. Yet for all this, the English (no whit daunted) maintained the Fight with such an obstinate Gallantry, that the Dutch, though high in resolution, were low in hopes of the Victory. And well they might : for what can be expected, when men fight for fear of punishment, as here many did, not so much regarding the honour of Conquest, as the Eyes of two Lords sent on purpose in a nimble Frigate to observe every Captains Actions?

This bloody Battle now continued with eagerness (but more uncertainty) from five in the morning till ten ; about which time, *Van Trump*, fighting in the midst of the English Fleet, had a Pass-port sent him for another world, being shot with a Musquet-Bullet into the left Breast near the Heart. What can live when the Heart is dead ? *Trump* was the Life of the Action ; by whose example all was guided and directed : no sooner was his Life spent, but the Hearts of his men were broken, a general Consternation suddenly possess'd the whole Fleet, so that the Sea-men had more mind to carry home the news of their renowned Generals death, than to take vengeance on the English for killing him.

This

This unfortunate shot made the Dutch (now the Head was lost) for preservation of the remaining part of the body, at first to disengage themselves, still fighting in a defensive posture; and then about three a Clock in the Evening, to clap on all the Canvas possible, and haste to their own Ports. It had been happy if all could have made the like speed; but that was forbidden by the English, who had sunk and fired 27 of their Men of War, and killed them upwards of 2000 men; besides six Captains and 1000 Prisoners taken: but the loss of losses was the General *Van Trump*; to conquer whom alone, had been a Victory sufficient to deserve a Triumph: hereby the States of *Holland* were deprived of as able a Seaman as ever sailed the Ocean: he was a man serious in deliberation; but when resolved, truly valiant in Action; which was sufficiently manifest in that eminent service he performed for the safety and honour of his Country against *Don Antonio Oquendo*, in the year 1639. when with a small Fleet he fought the Spaniards in the *Downs*, and without any great trouble brought that great *Armado* to nothing, wherein was imbarqued 23000 Souldiers, besides Mariners. This he did with so much generosity, that when the Spanish General durst not set to Sea from under the protection of *Dover-Castle*, for want of Powder, *Trump* offered to supply him therewith, and afterwards to fight him. He was ever observed to be a zealous Assertor of the *Orange* interest, both at home and abroad; this made him so eager to foment and drive on the War between *England* and *Holland*, because the posterity

228 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

rity of King *Charles* (Father-in-law to the Prince of *Orange*) were excluded from Government. Some Obligations he had received from the said King, as Knighthood at *Dever*, anno 1641. and gifts at the same time, which sufficiently manifested the Bounty of the Donor. This is certain, that the fall of this great man did very much conduce to the future Peace between the two Republicks, which quickly after followed.

*Trump's* death was not without loss on the English side: for no less than six Captains, with 400 Souldiers and Sea-men took leave of this, to bear him company into the other World: besides these, there were wounded six Captains, and 700 of the inferiour sort: but for shipping, the loss was so small, that it may cause wonder; for no more miscarried than the *Oak*, a ship of about 30 Guns, and a small Fire-ship besides: but yet the rest of the Navy were so much wounded, that they made home to repair Breaches, and recruit for another Expedition. Thus the *English Mastiff* baited the *Belgick Lyon*, till she made him run roaring home for shelter.

Whilst these Successes were given abroad, discontent rages at home among the most sober sort of people, caused by the strange Actings of the Parliament, who had now sate six months, and hatched little more than the Act of Marriages; which was made more to vex the Clergy, than please the Laity. This was but one branch of the Ministers maintenance, the body being Tythes, was with might and main endeavoured to be hewen down to the ground: but the event answered not the intent;

### *His Actions in the Protectorship.* 189

ent; for a Committee being of purpose appointed to consider of this weighty business, and make report to the House; the Legality of it both by the Laws of God and man, was so largely and clearly proved before them, that after a full hearing, and serious consideration of the whole matter, the Committee returned an Affirmative report for Tythes: but yet for all this, many of the Members being desirous to lay open a gap for confusion, did very stiffly argue against the Ministerial Function, making it little better than Antichristian, and burdensom to the people. Of this humour there were no fewer than 60 of the Members, and for the Ministry 84. these last were the Major part, which very wisely (fearing the Minor would undermine them, by watching all opportunities to accomplish their designs) did resolve to break up house-keeping: which motion being made by a Member, *Munday, December 12.* it was readily assented unto; so that the Speaker adjourned to *White-hall*, and delivered up the Power they had received to General *Cromwel* again.

As the Magnitude of *Hercules's* body was once drawn by the dimension of his foot; so the policy of *Cromwel* may be seen in the Actions of this rick'd Parliament; as may be perceived by a rational Answer to these following Queries:

1. *Whether the Parliament did not make way for Cromwel's future greatness, in taking away the Engagement, under pretence of liberty for tender consciences that scrupled the taking of it.*

2. *When Cromwel earnestly desired the several Members of this Parliament to remember Tythes and the Universities,*



190 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

*Universities, whether he meant the extirpation or confirmation of them.*

3. *Whether some of this Parliament-Members violent endeavours to level the Law in its practice, and the Gospel in the preaching thereof, was not a design of Cromwels, to render the Members odious to the vulgar, that so his own Government might be the more acceptable to the people.*

4. *Whether it was an Act of Grace or Gratitude in the Parliament, to make Cromwel a Member of the Body which he had made a Body.*

5. *Whether the picking of this Parliament was intended more for publick good, or private designs.*

The Lord General having now got the Civil and Military Powers into his Hands by this Resignation, made use of them to his best advantage. First of all, he called a Council of Officers; and joyning with them certain other persons to advise, it was by them resolved to have a Commonwealth in a Single Person; which person should be the Lord General Cromwel, under the Title and Dignity of Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging. To him was assigned a Council to consist of not above one and twenty, nor under thirteen, to be assistants in the Government. That chosen at present consisted but of fourteen, whose names were Lord Lambert, Lord Viscount Lisle, General Desborough, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Major General Skippon, Sir Anthony Ashly Cooper, Walter Strickland, Esq; , Sir Charles Wolley, Colonel Philip Jones, Francis Rouse, Esq; , Richard Major, Esq; , John Lawrence, Esq; , Colonel Edward

*His Actions in the Protectorship. 1651*

ague, Colonel William Sydenham. But because there can be no Superstructure without a Basis, an Instrument was framed, to be the Foundation of this present Government: which chiefly was made up of these following Heads.

**T**hat the Supreme Legislative Authority be and reside in a single person, and the people in Parliament; the execution of that power to be in the Protector, with the advice of his Council. All proceedings to run in the name and style of the Protector, and all Honours, Offices, and Titles to be derived from him. That he may pardon all offences but Treason and Murder. The Militia during the Parliament shall be in his and their hands, but in the Intervals only in his and his Council's. He and his Council to make war and peace with foreign Princes. Not to make new Laws or abrogate old without consent of Parliament. A Parliament to be called within six months, and afterwards every third year, and if need be oftener, which the Protector shall not dissolve without consent in Parliament, till after five months. The Parliament to consist of 400 English to be chosen by equal distributions, in Counties and Boroughs; of Scotch and Irish of each thirty. The summoning the Parliament to pass under the Seal of the Commonwealth to the Sheriffs; and if the Protector omit or deny that, then the Commissioner of the Seal to be held under pain of Treason to issue out such Writs; and in case of failure in him, the high Sheriffs. Let such as are elected be returned into the Chancery by the chief Magistrate, (Sheriff, Mayor or Bayliff) twenty days before the Session. If either the Sheriff, Mayor or Bayliff make a false

a false Return, or any ways procure an undue Election, let him be fined two thousand pounds. None that hath born Arms against the Parliament, Irish Rebels or Papists to be capable of being elected; and in case they be elected, to forfeit two years revenue, and three parts of their goods. None to be elected under the age of 21 years, nor unless he be a man of good conversation. None to have voices in Election but such as were worth 200 pounds. Sixty to make a Quorum. The Protector, if need be, to call Parliaments in the intervals of the triennial ones. Bills offered to the Protector, if not assented to by him within twenty days, to pass into Laws notwithstanding. The Protector with the advice of his Council, in case of death or breach of trust, to substitute new Privy Counsellors. A competent revenue to be settled for the maintenance of ten thousand Horse and fifteen thousand Foot, and the Navy not to be altered or lessened but by the advice of the Council; and upon the disbanding of them, the moneys to be brought to the Exchequer to serve sudden occasions. No new Levies nor new Laws to be made without consent in Parliament. All forfeited Lands unsold to belong to the Protector. The Protectorate to be Elective, but the Royal Family to be excluded. Oliver Cromwel to be the present Protector. All the great Offices of the Commonwealth, such as Chancellor, Keeper of the Seal, Governor of Ireland, Admiral, &c. if they become void in Parliament time, to be supplied with their approbation, and in intervals of Parliament with the approbation of the Council. The Christian Religion, as it is contained in the holy Scriptures, to be the publick profession of the Nation; and those that administer it, to be maintained by the publick

publick; but by some way more convenient, and less liable to envy than Tithes. None to be compelled to consent to the publick profession by Fine or any punishment whatever, but only by perswasion and arguments. None that professes faith in Christ Jesus, to be prohibited the exercise of his Religion; so he do not quarrel with and disturb others: except the Popish and Prelatical Tribes, who should be debarr'd that licence. All sales of Parliament to stand good. Articles of Peace to be kept. The Protectors successively upon entring on that charge, to swear to procure by all means the peace, quiet and welfare of the Commonwealth, to observe these Articles, and to administer all things (to his power) according to the Laws, Statutes and customs of England.

Accordingly this present Protector Oliver Cromwell swore hereto in the Chancery Court at Westminster, Decemb. 16. 1653. (going from Whitehall) attended by the Lords Commissioners of the great Seal of England, Barons of the Exchequer, and Judges in their Robes; after them the Council of the Commonwealth, and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of the City of London in their Scarlet-Gowns; and many of the chief Officers of the Army: A Chair of State being set in the said Court of Chancery, the Protector stood on the left hand thereof uncovered whilst this Instrument was read, which done (accepting of the Government on those terms) he swore to it in these words: *I promise in the presence of God not to violate or infringe the matters and things contained in the Instrument, but to observe, and cause the same to be observed; and in all things to the best of my understanding,*

P

understanding, govern the Nations according to the  
Laws, Statutes and Customs, to seek their peace,  
and cause Justice and Law to be equally administered.  
Hereupon he fate down covered in the Chair:  
then the Lords Commissioners delivered up the  
Great Seal of *England* to the Protector, and the  
Lord Mayor his Sword and Cap of Maintenance,  
all which the Protector returned immediately to  
them again. The Court then arose, and the Pro-  
tector was attended back as aforelaid to the Ban-  
queting-house at *Whitehall*, ( the Lord Mayor him-  
self uncovered carrying the Sword before the Pro-  
tector all the way ) where the Lord Mayor, Al-  
dermen, and Judges departed. When the Cere-  
mony was ended, great were the Acclamations of  
the Souldiery, and numerous the discharging of  
Guns.

Presently after, this following Proclamation by  
the Council was published through *England*, *Scot-*  
*land* and *Ireland*.

**W**hereas the late Parliament dissolved  
themselves, and resigned their Powers  
and Authorities, the Government of the Com-  
monwealth of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, by  
a Lord Protector, and successive triennial Parli-  
aments is now established: And whereas *Oliver*  
*Cromwel* Captain-General of all the Forces of  
this Commonwealth is declared Lord Protector of  
the said Nations, and hath accepted thereof:  
We have therefore thought it necessary ( as we  
hereby do ) to make Publication of the Premises,  
and strictly to Charge and Command all and every



Person and Persons, of what quality and condition soever in any of the said three Nations, to take notice hereof, and to conform and submit themselves to the Government so established. And all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bayliffs, &c. are required to publish this Proclamation, to the end none may have cause to pretend ignorance in this behalf.

Nothing could satisfy *Cæsar's* Ambition, but a perpetual Dictatorship; nor *Alexander's*, but to have more worlds to conquer: and why then should our *Cromwel*, having the same aspiration, (and inspiration above them) be satisfied with less than a perpetual Protectorship? Ambition is of such a Nature, that to be first in a Village, pleases better than the second place in a City; but to satisfy an ambitious Appetite sufficiently with honour, is impossible; unless he can climb so high, that none dares ask how he came to that height.

To this Elevation is the Subject of our Discourse come, that his thoughts can rise no higher, than how to keep in Peace what he hath got by Policy. The City of *London* (as there can be no great change without its Concurrence) having just proclaimed General *Cromwel* Lord Protector at the *Royal Exchange*, presently invites him to a great Feast at *Grocers Hall*, betwixt which and *Temple-Bar*, the Liveries in their Gowns, awaited him in their gradual standings, and the Lord Mayor, (Alderman *Vyner*) bore the Sword on Horseback bare-headed before him all the way, from *Temple-Bar*

*ple-Bar* to the Hall, where his entertainment was more suitable to the former Splendor, than present Exigence of that once-flourishing City. Immediately after, several Papers were sent out of the Country to Court from particular persons, making Demonstration of Congratulation and real Obedience: These bore in the Front the Title of *Addressees* from all the good people in the Nation; when it was well known, that those whose blood had purchas'd them Liberty from under one Person, would never subscribe themselves *Slaves* to another.

The Protector began his Reign with seeming Serenity, insomuch that many expected *Halcyon* days; such Sanctity appeared in the Countenance of this Governour: his Tongue on all occasions was tipt with Lamentations at the Effusion of Christian Blood, and customarily would bemoan the *Animosities* amongst the people, caused by diversity in Religion: yet for all that, when any Overtures were made to him tending to a Settlement and Conformity in Religion, then, *his power was no greater in the Nation than a Constable's, who is to keep peace and quietness amongst all parties.* Thus he behaved himself towards the Ecclesiasticks.

According to the power given him by the *Instrument* of Government he supplies the Benches of the Courts at *Westminster* with the ablest of the Lawyers, whom he had invited to the publick service, and Mr. *Maynard*, *Twisden*, *Nudigate*, *Hugh Windham*, were made Sergeants, and Mr. *Hales* one of the Justices of the Common-pleas, &c. Mr. *Thurloe*, who had been Secretary

to the Lord St. *Johns* when he was Ambassador at the *Hague* before the Dutch war broke out, was preferred to be Secretary of State. He also sent *Henry* his youngest son into *Ireland*, whom after some time he made Lieutenant there: and General *Monk* into *Scotland* to keep that Nation in obedience.

But now we come to his first grand Action of State, the Negotiation of the Dutch Peace. This War had been gallantly maintained by the long Parliament, who in many Fights filled our Harbours with Prizes, which weakned much the united Provinces; but every bout augmented the Valour and Resolution of the English Sea men: so that in a little while, the dread of this Adversary was turned into contempt.

I will not yet in the least derogate from the worth of this brave Enemy: for in all Encounters, their endeavours were good; and might have been better, if Sobriety among the Sea-men had been well observed; but 'tis sad fighting, when the Can charged with *Brandy*, must be a Gun to conquer an Enemy: these weapons usually conquered themselves, and made way to their own destruction. But now to shew in part the Dutch Ingratitude, it will not be much amiss to remember what *England* has done for them.

Time was, when the (*High and Mighty*) States of *Holland*, not able to help themselves, implored (as *poor and distressed*) Queen *Elizabeths* assistance: she readily condescending, sent them over a well-furnished Army commanded by the Earl of *Leicester*. These were but the forlorn to greater Bodies,

198. *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

Bodies, which after were transported under the Conduct of those brave Commanders, *Norris, Vere, Sidney*, and many more, whose blood laid the Foundation of that Commonwealth: These were the Men that cut the Spanish Yoke from off their Necks, and never offered to sheath their Swords, until the Dutch were fully possest of their Liberties. But O ingratitude! this was not sooner done, but the Deed forgotten: For in King *James* his time, many Depredations were secretly committed on the English by them: it may suffice if we mention no more but only the business of *Amboyna*, which sufficiently witnesseth how far their will would have extended, had they had power sufficient to execute it. Afterwards King *Charles* perceiving their encroaching, sent forth a brave Fleet, (which hurt himself more than any body else; for it raised so hideous a storm amongst his Subjects upon the payment of Ship-money, that never after could be appeased till his Head was blown off his Shoulders) then lying in the *Downs* under command of *Dover-castle* to protect a *Spanish Armado* intending for *Flanders*: the Spaniards were boldly set upon by the Dutch and utterly destroyed. Had this presumptuous attempt of the *Hollander* met with a vindictive King, it would not have been so silently connived at. These Affronts being thus slightly passed by, emboldened them to attempt higher matters for the English Nation on a sudden involved in Domestick War, they made use of this opportunity to fish freely on the English Coast; which they continued so long, that from custom, the

would

would argue a right; because they *had* done it, therefore they *ought* to do it still: presuming without, to make *Englands* Harbors the bounds to their Sovereignty. A rich Bank of Treasure, and great strength in shipping, prompted them to this project; and the rather, because *England* was wasted by War, and disunited amongst themselves: Now they thought it their time to attempt the design, wherein they fancied an assured and absolute Conquest: not at all considering what advantages in Navigation *England* hath over them; as first, not a ship can well pass the Narrow Seas between *Dover* and *Calice*, but must run the hazard to be snapt in their passage, unless they sailed under protection of a strong Fleet of War. Secondly, in stormy Weather the Winds would inforce ships at Sea to put into the English Harbours for shelter. In both which respects, it must needs be very prejudicial to the Dutch, if they fell out with *England*: their Traffick this way being stopt up, no other means remained to continue a Trade to *France, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, East and West Indies*, but by the North of *Scotland*, with a Circumference about *Ireland*, whereby the Merchant must necessarily be exposed to a double danger in respect of Enemies: And that which is more unavoidable, the tempestuousness of the Sea in this Northerly Latitude, would have rendred their passage that way both unsafe and uncomfortable. But it seems these Considerations never entred into the thoughts of that State; their minds were only troubled with dividing Spoils, and how to give Laws by Sea to the whole world. This high



conceit of Fortitude, many times bars up the doors against prudential Counsels. Well, blinded as the Dutch were, *Van Trump*, that leading Card against the English Commonwealth, must begin the Game, and that when their Embassadors were in Treaty at *London*.

The Parliament of *England* remembering their late saucy Action in the *Downs*, resolved to make it redound to the honour of *England*: to that end, they fell into a close debate of the Nations right in those Seas: now *Mare Clausum* speaks English, to let every one see the Dominion of the Narrow Sea is *Englands* safety and Protector, under Divine Providence, from the fury of foreign Foes, which if it were lost, a Confluence of all Nations would quickly subjugate the Land to their will. How sensible the Senate and People of *England* were of this, is easily seen by the industrious counsels of the one, and incomparable Valour of the other; so that in a few months the Dutch sustained more loss by this their wilful undertaking, than before they had done in several years War with the *Spaniard*. The English Parliament being thus engaged in a defensive War, quickly changed the Scene to offensive, maintaining it with wonderful Policy and Prudence: but on a sudden, in steep General *Cromwel*, and jostled them out of Power, taking upon himself to end this War. He fought the *Hollander* twice prosperously, which brought over into *England* four Embassadors extraordinary to sollicite a Peace: these using pecuniary Perswasions, so far prevailed with the Protector, as made him balance the publick Concernments

ments with his private Interest; and so granted their desires. The Peace was concluded in *March*, being the end of the year 1653. but not proclaimed till *April*; the money ( which was the charges of the war ) not being paid till then.

The Peace being thus concluded, and published, the people of *England* were then perswaded to a general Thanksgiving, by a Declaration, partly made of nine Verses out of the 107 *Psalm*. To make observation on *Englands* Profit by this Peace, is needless: that I will leave for the Merchant to rejoice in.

Actions of State are like the Billows of the Sea, one design drives forward another, as they are agitated by the Princes breath. No sooner was peace proclaimed abroad, but Plots commenced at home: the chief Designers were two *Gerrards*, Brothers, one *Jones* an Apothecary, *Tcuder*, *Fow*, and *Vowel*: some of these ( *through mercy* ) were saved, but *Vowel* and *Gerrard* must suffer for example.

In the same Juncture of time fell out an arrogant exploit of *Don Pantaleon Sa*, brother to the *Portugal* Embassador: this man being followed by a fanaticque Crew, came one evening to the New Exchange armed with Swords, Pistols, and Hand granadoes: what the original provocative to this design was, is uncertain: however, one wrapt in Buff ( a bold Blade no doubt ) being followed by Knights of *Malta*, Foot-boys, and the like, ascended the Stairs into the upper Exchange, where firing a Pistol, a Gentleman there walking, was slain. There happened to be walking

202 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

ing the same time this *Gerrard* above-mentioned: he seeing their Countenances not so swarthy as this deed was fable, draws his Rapier, and with a magnanimous spirit drove them all before him down stairs. The L. Protector having notice of these *Portugals* frolique, upon examination resolved to proceed thereupon without respect of persons, and to make the chiefest Actor an example of Justice; which being found to be the Embassadors brother, he was condemned for this ridiculous riot, and executed at *Tower-hill* on the same Scaffold (though for different causes) with *generous Gerrard*. The eyes of the Spectators never beheld such different tempers in two men: *Gerrard* no way appal'd in countenance or behaviour, like a true Englishman, out-braved Death on the very Block. His body being removed out of sight, up came *Don Pantaleon Sa* the Portugal, with a body too heavy for its supporters, and a countenance which sufficiently demonstrated, that the terror of his heart had in a manner made him insensible of the smart of the Executioners Ax; so that many present believed his head served only to satisfy the Law, his life being already fled through fear.

But now on a sudden there breaks forth an Insurrection in the *Highlands* of *Scotland*: these mountainous people having little to lose but their lives, would ever be trying to shake the English yoke off their necks. The chief bellows to blow these miserable men to destruction, was the Earl of *Glencarne*, a man whose industry was ever pregnant in contriving new designs against the English: he having now drawn together a considerable  
 strength,

strength, proclaimed to his fellows what great assistance would be waisted over to them from the Low Countries, by which means it might be easie (if unanimous) to obtain their Liberty, and get immortal Fame by freeing their Country from the present subjection it lay under. This was heard with general applause, and sprightly prosecuted, especially now *Middleton* was come from the *Netherlands* with the promised provisions for War. This *Middleton*, amongst other things, brought a special Commission to be Commander in chief over all those then in Arms; and under him in the next degree was *Monro* Lieutenant General. This spoiled all; for *Glencarne* scorned to raise an Army for others to command; he loved the Cause well, but would not be disparaged by it: must he foment and stir up others, to be brought down himself? or take pains for others gains? No, he would not endure this, seeing it was a diminution to his honour, which as a Souldier he equally prized with life. On the other side, *Middleton* was too stiff to stoop; he stoutly stood to have *Monro* in the second place of Superiority. The consideration of the dangerous consequence of this falling out, made all the Gentlemen endeavour an Unity: which endeavors prevailed so far, as to procure a reconciliation between *Middleton* and *Glencarne*, provided *Glencarne* might be made Lieutenant General. But the pride of *Monro* could by no means condescend to this motion.

When they had thus bandied together for some time, at last *Glencarne*, challengeth *Monro* to a single Combat; which being accepted of, on a certain morning

204 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

morning they fought, with fortunate success to *Glencarne*, who wounded and disarmed his Adversary, and then immediately after left the Army with about 500 Gentlemen, who made their composition with the Governour of *Dunbarton* to live peaceably at home, and leave *Middleton* to shift for himself.

Thus dissention among the Grandees leading the Van, destruction quickly after brought up the Reer. For General *Monk* with the English being not ignorant of these transactions among the Highlanders, and delaying for some time to march against them, till he had seen the event of their divisions, and observed his opportunity to suppress them; upon certain intelligence of their motion, he advanced to meet them; and engaging *Middleton* at *Loughgerry*, after some small bickering the Scots were wholly routed, and *Middleton* enforced to see back again into *Holland*.

The Lord Protector in *England* seeing on what a ticklish Foundation his Greatness stood (for though he had obtained a Government, yet was it not confirmed to him by the People) therefore according to the tenour of the Instrument of Government, he summoned a Parliament to assemble at *Westminster* Septemb. 3. 1654. when there appeared a great number of grave judicious persons, men that sufficiently understood the peoples priviledges, having many times before been Champions to defend them from the encroachments of Usurpers. The day before their sitting, the Protector went by water from *White-hall* to the Painted Chamber, whither he sent for the Members, where



## *His Actions in the Protectorship.* 209

where they being come, he desired their company to hear a Sermon at the Abby-Church the next day, and afterwards he would impart his mind to them. About nine in the morning, his Highness (not much affecting pomp and bravery) rode in his Coach to Church: with him there sat his Son *Henry* and the Lord *Lambert*: his Gentlemen very richly clad, marched first, bare headed; next before the Coach, went the Pages, and on one side of the Coach walked on foot Mr. *Strickland* one of the Council, and Captain of the Guard, together with the Master of the Ceremonies; on the other side, in like manner, was Captain *Howard* Captain of the Life-guard. After these, followed in Coaches, the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, of the Treasury, and the Council; at last, the ordinary Guard of the Protector put an end to the train. In this manner he went to the Abbey. As he entred the Church, there was born before him four Maces, the Purse and a Sword, which the Lord *Lambert* carried, bare-headed.

When Dr. *Goodwin* had ended his Sermon, the Protector and Parliament went to the *Painted Chamber*, where he declared to the Members in a set Speech, (briefly thus:)

**T**hat the Parliament then met, were such a Congregation as England never saw before; and that it might be a matter worthy such a meeting, to give a Series of Gods Providence all along to these times; but that being well known to most of them he should proceed to let them know in what condition these Nations were when this Government

ment was erected. Every man's heart was then against another: that we had then our humours and interests, and every thing almost was grown Arbitrary. Next of all, what a prodigious contempt there was of God and Christ; the grace of God was turned into wantonness, and his Spirit made a Cloak for vile practices: yea many would say, Matters of Religion belonged not to the Magistrate, he was only to look to the outer man, not to meddle with the inner. Nay, the abomination was swell'd to that height, that the Ax was laid to the root of the Ministry, as Babylonish and Antichristian. While these things were in the midst of us, and the Nation rent and torn, one Family against another, and nothing in the hearts and minds of men but overturn, overturn, overturn; at the same time swarms of Jesuits coming over, having their Consistories abroad to rule all the Affairs of England, and the dependencies thereof: Withal, the Nation was deeply engaged in a War with PORTUGAL, HOLLAND and FRANCE. In such a heap of Confusion was this Nation, that a speedy remedy must be applied, and hath been applied. This Government (let men say what they will) is calculated for the people's interest. That for his own part, he could with humbleness towards God, and modesty before them, recount something in the behalf of it. First, it had indeavoured to reform the Law: it hath put into seats of Justice men of known integrity and ability: it hath settled a way for probation of Ministers to preach the Gospel. And besides, it hath called a free Parliament (blessed be God) we see this day a free Parliament. As for the Wars; a peace is made with Sweden, Denmark, the Dutch and Portugal: more-  
over,

ver, at this time a treaty is depending with France. These things are but Entrances and Doors of hope; but now he made no question to enable them to lay the top-stone of this work. This *Maxime* he recommended to their observation, that Peace, though it be made, is not to be trusted farther than it consists with Interest. The great work that now lay upon this Parliament, was, that the Government of Ireland might be settled in terms of honour, and that themselves would manage Affairs with Prudence, lest foreign States retain hopes of advantage by their confusions. For himself, he did not speak like one that would be a Lord over them, but as one that was resolved to be a fellow-servant with them in this great Affair. To conclude, he wished them to repair to their own House, and there use their Liberty in the choice of a Speaker.

The Protector having ended his Speech, the Members immediately repaired to the Parliament-house, and chose *William Lenthall* Master of the Rolls to be their Speaker; then they resolved to tune the Instrument of Government. The first debate was, Whether the legislative Power should be in a single Person and a Parliament. This Ball was bandied about for some time. The Proteſtoreans with might and main endeavoured to have the Question resolved to be no question, but rather to be passed immediately in the Affirmative. This was strenuously opposed by the major part of the House: amongst the rest a noble Gentleman stood up and made an excellent Speech, wherein he shewed the Snares that then were laid to entrap the Peoples Priviledges: for his own part he declared that God had made him Instrumental in cutting down

down Tyranny in one person, and now he could not endure to see the Nations Liberties ready to be shackled by another, whose right to the Government could be measured out no other ways than by the length of his Sword, 'twas this imboldned him to command his Commanders. To the same effect many more Speeches were made, in direct opposition to a single Person.

Thus the Parliament for eight days together run divisions upon the Protectors Instrument, till it jarred so much, that it was impossible to play one pleasant Tune for the Court to dance after. This highly offended his Highness, and made him resolve to put the Parliament into a better mode, if possible: to which end, away he goes by water to the Painted Chamber, and there sent for all the Members of Parliament then sitting, to appear presently before him: there he declared,

That his sorrow was very great, to find them falling into heats and divisions; he would have them take notice of this, that the same Government that made them a Parliament, made him a Protector; and as they were intrusted with some things, so he with other things. In the Government there were Fundamentals that could not be altered, as,

1. That the Government should be in one Person and a Parliament.
2. That Parliaments should not be made perpetual, nor always sitting.
3. The Militia was not to be trusted in any one hand or power, but so, that the Parliament ought to have a check upon the Protector, and the Protector upon the Parliament.

4. That

4. That in matters of Religion; there ought to be Liberty of Conscience, and means used to prevent Persecution.

For the rest of the things in the Government, they were examinable and alterable as the State of Affairs did require. For his own part (he told them) his heart was even overwhelmed with grief to see that any of them should go about to overthrow what was settled, contrary to their trust received from the people; which could not but bring on very great inconveniences.

In this manner he perswaded them to Conformity in his designs: but fearing words might be little regarded, he therefore prepared a Laxative Composition wrapt up in a Recognition, which was to be taken as followeth:

I do hereby promise and engage to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector, and the Commonwealth of England; Scotland and Ireland; and shall not (according to the tenour of the Indenture whereby I am returned to serve in Parliament) propose, or give my consent to alter the Government; as it is settled in one Person and a Parliament.

This dose purged some Members out of the House; and others again swallowed it without any reluctance; so that for all this, the Parliament (though they looked somewhat thin) continued sitting five Months after, in which time they did much, in doing nothing. The Protector seeing how opposite they were to his hopes, could not brook these their dilatory proceedings; and seeing they would not settle him, he resolves to unhouse them; and accordingly takes the first opportunity



ty his *Instrument* would give him ( not slipping one day ) and dissolv'd them.

Upon the very nick of this Catastrophe, the Court was Alarm'd with the news of a great rising in *Shropshire, Montgomeryshire, Wiltshire, Nottinghamshire, Northumberland* and *Yorkshire*; it is needless to tell the rise and growth of these male contents: their folly and fall may sufficiently manifest, there were secret invisible springs that turn'd the main wheels of this Design. However, the Protector continued still victorious, and triumphed over his Enemies.

And now being arrived at the Meridian of his Grandeur, it will not be amiss to give a short account of his manner of life ( at this time, particularly ) and management of the government. He now provided him a Guard of Halberdiers in gray Coats, welted with black Velvet, over whom *Walter Strickland* was Captain. He frequently diverted himself at *Hampton Court*, whither he went and returned commonly in post with his Guard behind and before. His own diet was spare and not curious, except in publick Treatments, which were constantly given every *Munday* in the week to all the Officers of the Army not below a Captain, where he used to dine with them. A Table was likewise spread every day of the week for such Officers as should casually come to Court. He was a great lover of Musick, and entertained the most skillful in that science in his pay and family. He respected all persons that were eximious in any Art, and would procure them to be sent or brought to him. Sometimes he would

*His Actions in the Protectorship.* 111.

for a frolick before, he had half dined; give order for the Drum to beat and call in his Foot-guards, who were permitted to make booty of all they found on the Table. Sometimes he would be jocund with some of the Nobility, and would tell them what company they had lately kept; when and where they had drunk the Kings health and the Royal Families; bidding them when they did it again, to do it more privately: and this without any passion, and as festivous Droll discourse.

As for his Government, take this account from one \* who was far from flattering him or any of his Actions. "Justice, *says* that Author, (that we may not scourge him beyond his desert) was renewed almost to her former grace and splendour, as well distributive as commutative; the Judges executing their office with equity and justice, far from covetousness; and the Laws suffer'd, without delay or lett, to have their full force upon all: (a few excepted, *says he*, where he himself was immediately concern'd.) The lives of men, outwardly at least, became reformed, either by withdrawing the incentives to luxury, or by means of the ancient laws now of new put into execution. There was also a strict discipline kept in his Court; one could find none here that was either drunkard or whore-master, none that was guilty of extortion or oppression but he was severely rebuked. Now Trade began to flourish; and (to say all in a word) all *England* over there were *Halcyon* days.] Thus far he. But to return.

\* Dr. Bates, Elench. mor. nup. p. 292.

Long had the World stood in amazement at the Protectors mighty preparations, wondering what the intent should be, or event would prove: The design was too deep to be easily fathomed, being managed with such secrecie, that the chief Commanders both by Land and Sea, who were to put it in practice, knew not at first what they went about; only this they were assured of, that it was for the honour of God, the good of their Country, and would be to themselves a profitable glory. Time, with great industry and vast sums of money, having at last produced two mighty Fleets, one of them was commanded by General *Blake*, who (being fitted only for the Sea) sailed away to the *Straights*: about two Months after, the other Fleet put out to Sea, commanded by General *Pen*, who took aboard him a Land-Army, under Conduct of General *Venables*. These Land-Forces being in all three thousand, were divided into five Regiments, under their respective Commanders, and distributed through the Navy, consisting of about thirty Sail of good Ships, but provided with necessaries neither suitable nor sufficient for so long a voyage.

*Decemb.* the 19th. 1654. this Fleet set sail from *Portsmouth* for the *Barbadoes*, the appointed place of Rendezvouze: it pleased God to give them a speedy passage, insomuch that the 29 of *January*, they were all at Anchor in *Carlisle Bay*, and presently landed their men upon the Island.

The King of *Spain* all this while, not being assured that these Forces were designed against him, yet by many circumstances believing no less, he

sent

sent a speedy Mandate to the Marquess de Lede, Governour of *Dunkirk*, to pass into *England* in the quality of an extraordinary Ambassadour, that so he might know the certainty thereof. This gallant Commander (for so indeed he was) presently after arrived at *London* accordingly: but after some stay, finding little satisfaction in his Audiences, he returned back again to give an account to his Master.

But to return: during the abode of the Fleet at the *Barbadoes*, the Generals, Colonels, and inferior Officers were not negligent in their several stations. General *Pen* caused the Carpenters of each Ship to set up those Shallops which were brought over in Quarters out of *England*: And ordered the Coopers to trim and fit water-Casks: Besides, he sent two Frigates to *S. Christophers* and *Mevis*, for raising of Voluntiers there. In the mean time, General *Venables* formed a new Regiment of Sea-men to serve upon occasion at Land; these were put under the Conduct of Vice-Admiral *Goodson*; the rest of the Regiments brought out of *England*, were easily compleated to a full number: Likewise, a Troop of gallant Horse were raised by the Islanders, at their own cost and charges (the Carkases of which were afterwards buried in the Souldiers bellies, for want of better food.) But these were not all the strength: for the planters Servants understanding that if they would serve the State, their time should still go on, and that at last (in spite of their Masters) they should enjoy their Freedoms in as ample a manner as if they had served them; this spurred them

#### 214 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

them on to become Souldiers of Fortune ; and many were presently lifted into several Regiments accordingly. The Fleet was also augmented by twenty Sail of Dutch Vessels, which were made prize for presuming to traffick with prohibited goods contrary to the Articles of Peace betwixt the two Nations. The Land-Army being now in a readiness, their number was found to be so great, that every ships share was as many as it could well carry. *March 31.* they set sail from the *Barbadoes*, and in six days after came by the Lee under *St. Christophers*. Here joyned with them about 1300 more, which came off from several Islands, in hopes to be made for ever. From hence they shaped their course directly for *Hispaniola*. On the 13 of *April* the whole Navy came fair by the Island, and plainly discovered the Town of *Santa Domingo* : immediately hereupon, a Council was called, and the Guides consulted withal : here it was concluded that General *Venables* should to Land. According to which resolution, the next day he landed about ten Leagues to the Westward of the Town, with 7000 Foot, a Troop of Horse, and three days Provision of Victuals. No sooner were they landed, but every mans tongue was tipt with gold ; nothing could be thought on, but the plunder of Plate and Jewels ; small things could not enter their minds : as for Hangings, Household-stuff, &c. they would be cumbersome to carry, and therefore they resolved to leave such things behind them. In this ecstasy of joy was the Souldiery ; when behold, upon a sudden, there appeared a Proclamation from



from the General, commanding, that when they entered the Town of *Sancta Domingo*, no man should presume to plunder either Money, Plate, or Jewels, neither kill any tame Cattel upon pain of death. This made the Army look sower on their imaginary sweet-meats; their golden hearts were now turned to leaden heels; so that it was indifferent to them whether they went farther, or tarried there: Yet for all this, on they marched through Woods of incredible thickness, receiving no opposition, except the excessive heat of the Sun, which caused an intolerable drought, that oppressed them sorely, having not had one drop of water in many miles march, but what they carried in their own bladders; so that Urine was as White-wine to them that could swallow it.

General *Pen*, after the landing of these men, set a shore three Regiments more under the command of Colonel *Bullard*, in a Bay where a fair fresh-water River disburdened it self; this was within two Leagues of the Town, and appointed to be the place for conjunction of the whole Army. It was not long before the General (according to appointment) having peaceably pass the Woods, came to the River, and joyned himself with *Bullards* Brigade. Here, upon view, the Army was found to be 9700 (but few fighting) men. From this River the Army hasted away to take possession of the Town, which in imagination was already won: there marched on before the rest, a forlorn Hope consisting of 500 men; afterward followed the main body of the Army: In this order they marched within four miles of

the Town, when upon a sudden a small party of *Spaniards* encountred the forlorn Hope, and in an instant forced them in confusion thorow the next Regiment, which was also routed: the Body of the Army coming up to the rescue, made the Enemy retire to a Fort hard by the Woods, without any considerable loss at all to the *Spaniards*: on the English side was slain Captain *Cox*, the Chief Guide for the place, and many others.

The General having now seen the imbecillity of his men, through want of water and many other necessaries, he caused them to march back again to the River from whence they came, to refresh themselves in order to a full prosecution of the Design in hand. To which end, scaling ladders were made, and two small Drakes mounted; with a Mortar-piece and Granado-shells which were landed from the Fleet. These were conveyed by water to be set on shore at a convenient place near the Town. All things being now in readiness, to try conclusions, the Army once again dislodged, and were by the Guides promised to be brought upon the Town of *Sancta Domingo* by a private way, where they might pass thorow the Woods free from danger of any Fort. Such a way there certainly was; but these blind Guides taking another to be it, the whole Army were brought near to the place where before they had been shamefully repulsed. The *Spaniards* mean time having certain intelligence by *Negroes* and *Aplattas* of the English march, prepared to entertain them in their passage. April 25. 1655. the whole Army approached

approached near to a Fort which the *Spaniards* had in the Wood built of Brick, in a triangular form without Flankers: in it were nine Pieces of good Ordnance, and 300 resolute fellows to manage them. The English Army a little before noon approaching near this Fort, were upon the sudden charged by a Party of the Enemy that lay undiscovered among the Trees: these resolute *Spaniards*, being about seventy in number, at first fired a round Volley of small shot upon the forlorn Hope, and then flew in like mad-men with their sharp Steel Lances upon the English (who were already even suffocated with thirst, and hardly able to stand, much less to fight) so that in a moment the Generals running Regiment, with near half the Army, flew back to the Reer, and possessed their fellows there with such a pannick fear, that every one began to shift for himself. Mean while the *Spaniards* pursued their Victory with the greatest slaughter they were able to make: for meeting with no resistance (but what that ever-renowned Gentleman Major-General *Haines* was able to make alone of himself, who never stirred one step, but dyed not unrevengeed in the midst of his Enemies,) they wreaked their fury at pleasure on these dastardly dunces: till at last being overcome with killing, they retreated back in Triumph with seven English Colours, the evident Trophies of their Victory. The Retreat of the Enemy, gave opportunity for the living to number the dead: upon view, it was found that 600 were slain outright, 300 wounded, (most in their backs) and besides, 200 more crept into bushes, and

218 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

and ran away to save themselves; which afterwards were knockt on the head by *Negro's* and *Molatto's*.

Upon this sad disaster, the Army that night drew up nearer the Spanish Fort, as if they intended some mighty matters; and having planted a Mortar Piece in a convenient plot of ground, and all things being ready to do execution on the Fort, upon a sudden the souldiers were ordered to draw off: so the Army without doing any thing, marched away to their old watering place in the Bay. To what intent and purpose this was, I shall be silent, and leave it for others to judge.

The Army being come into the Bay, had not that supply of Victuals from the ships as formerly, but were necessitated by parties to go into the Woods to catch Cartel; which many times cost them dear: for the *Negro's* instead of hunting Cows, would oftentimes change their game, and breath them back again to their Quarters. These things brought the Army to such distress, that (fearing to fight for Food abroad) they exercised their valour at home on the Troop-horses belonging to their own Army: thus did they continue for some days, till a resolution was taken to imbarck them, and with all speed to make for *Jamaica*. May the third day, (all the remaining part of the Army being shipped) without the least disturbance from the Spaniard, the Fleet set sail for the aforesaid island. On the tenth of the same month, the whole Fleet cast Anchor in *Jamaica* Harbour, and quickly after possess themselves

*His Actions in the Protectorship.* 219

elves of *Oristano* the chief Town in the Island; where the Army having taken up their standing, began to plant. And though the Spaniards after landed there two or three thousand men to recover this gallant Island, yet they were beat off with the loss of all their Cannon and Baggage. General *Pen* presently after returned for *England*, and was quickly followed by General *Venables*, to give an account to the Court of the brave service they had performed for the honour of their Country; which pleased the Protector so well, that he sent them both to the Tower of *London*.

This unfortunate Voyage to *Hispaniola*, cannot well be let pass without some small inspection into the miscarriage of the Action. Where there is want of Food, and Arms fitting for an Army, they must of necessity become a prey to their Enemies: neither of which were sufficiently provided for in the beginning, as they ought to have been. It hath been always the policy of Conquerors, first to possess, and then to plant; but the Wives and Children in this expedition, shewed a confidence in the fruition, before they gained possession.

*Alexander* at his entrance into the wars of *Persia*, had but 35000 men, which proved sufficient to carry on his enterprize. By this we see, two thousand *Cocks* are better to fight than ten thousand *Capons*. But above all, if the spring be corrupted, the stream cannot run clear: Where covetousness is at the root, the branches of a design are always blasted: This made *Achan* prosper no better with his ill gotten gold. A General that will prohibit plundering in an Enemies Countrey, must



220 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

must resolve to do all the service himself: for Souldiers will suffer him to win all, that must wear all.

To dwell longer on this lamentable lame Story, can be no way useful, unless it be to call to mind that excellent saying, *Man proposeth, but God disposeth.* Therefore to sweeten the bitterness of the blow received in *America*, it will not be much amiss to recount brave *Blakes* successes in *Africa*. Not long before *Pen* set sail for the unfortunate Islands, *Blake* set forth with a considerable Navy to scowre the *Straights* from Pirates which had much damnified the English Merchants in their passage out of the Levant Sea. At first he beat about on the Spanish Coast, in hopes to find them roving abroad; but missing of his expectation, a sudden resolution was taken up to fire their nests, and consume their shipping in the very Harbors: to effect this, April 8. 1655, the Fleet approaching near *Tunis*, General *Blake* sent to the *Dye*, demanding satisfaction for ships taken, and a speedy release of the poor English taken in them from their present Captivity. To this Message the Turk making this arrogant Answer, *Behold our Castles of Galleta, and our Castles and Vessels of Porto Ferino, do your worst against them, and do not think to brave us with your great Fleet*] the English were so enraged that after a small debate, it was concluded to revenge themselves on nine ships that lay in *Porto Ferino*: the wind at present sitting fair, encouraged a present prosecution of the designed project, which was effected in this manner: At first, there entered the Harbour the Boats

every Ship man'd with resolute Sea-men ; and  
then followed *Blake* himself in the Admiral, with  
the Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral : These ly-  
ing within Musket-shot of the Enemies Castle and  
forts, (whereon were an hundred and twenty  
Guns planted) plagued them perpetually with  
whole broadsides, until the Boats had utterly  
consumed the Turkish men of War, which were  
reduced to ashes in four hours time, with no more  
loss to the English, than 25 men slain, and 48  
wounded. This may in part wipe off the blemish  
which stained *Englands* reputation in the former  
disastrous Expedition.

At this time, the Lord Protector endeavour-  
ing to strengthen himself abroad, made an alli-  
ance with the *Swede* ; the effects of which Peace  
have since been felt to purpose, in some parts of  
*Europe*. Then presently after he constituted Ma-  
jor-Generals, and divided *England* into eleven  
parcels amongst them. The names of these Vice-  
Roys, and the Counties allotted to every ones  
share, were as followeth :

Colonel *Kelsey*

For *Kent* and *Surry*.

Col. *Goff*

For *Sussex*, *Hampshire* and *Berkshire*.

Gen. *Desbrow*

For *Glocestershire*, *Wilts*, *Dorset*, *Somerset*, *Devon*  
and *Cornwal*.

Lieutenant Gen. *Fleetwood*

For *Oxfordshire*, *Bucks*, *Hartford*, *Cambridge*,  
the Isle of *Ely*, *Essex*, *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*.

Major

222 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

Major Gen. Skippon

For the City of London.

Com. Gen. Whaley

For Lincolnshire, Nottingham, Derby, Warwick  
and Leicestershire.

Major Butler

For Northamptonshire, Bedford, Rutland and Hunting-  
ton.

Col. Berry

For Worcester, Hereford, Salop, and North-  
Wales.

Col. Wortley

For Cheshire, Lancashire and Staffordshire.

Lord Lambert

For Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland, Westmer-  
land and Northumberland.

Col. Barkstead

For Westminster and Middlesex.

These Major-Generals in their respective Pro-  
vinces, did the Protector no small service, in for-  
cing Delinquents to pay the Decimation of their  
Estates, which was imposed upon them by the  
Court ( for the sins of their youth ; ) he very well  
knowing :

*'Tis good for Princes to have all things fat,  
Except their subjects ; but beware of that.*

Yet this new device after a while grew trou-  
blesome to the grand Projector himself, who  
fearing they might in time eclipse his own great-  
ness, ( if continued ) brought them down again to  
move in an inferiour Orb.

Another

Another design ( of a far different nature, but for like ends with the former ) was about this time set on foot by the Protector, to wit, the re-admission of the *Jews* into this Nation. This people indeed were sometime Gods peculiar people, to whom pertained the adoption, and the Glory, and the Covenant, and the giving of the Law, and the service of God, and the promises: insomuch that *Moses* thus expostulates with them; *What Nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is in all things that we call upon him for?* But as if all this had not been sufficient, it pleased God so far further to honour them, that of them, according to the flesh, *Christ* came: who although he were approved of God among them, by miracles, wonders and signs, for their conviction; Yet they entertained him with crucifixion, uttering this direful imprecation thereupon, *His blood be upon us and our children.* God took them at their word. For (not to mention what some affirm, that a bloody issue hath ever since hereditarily descended upon them) not long after ( according to *Christs* prophetic ) their City was destroyed, their Temple not one stone left upon another; and themselves ceasing to be a Nation, became ( with *Cain* ) Fugitives, and Vagabonds upon the Earth; having now, ( according to that prophecy of *Hosea* ) *been many days (yea many years) without a King, and without a Prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an Ephod, and without a teraphim:* being dispersed amongst all Nations, and hated by all people: remaining nevertheless in such a degree of contumacious obduration,

ration, that here in *England* ( whither some of them wandred ) they crucified children in despite to ( and derision of ) the name of Christ. For which, and other execrable practices, they were justly expelled this Nation by King *Edward* the first, in the year of Christs incarnation, 1291. And so willing were the people then to be rid of them, that for this Act of that King, the Commons in Parliament freely granted him a whole Fifteenth. Thus they were expelled; and ever since ( for the space of 364 years ) they have been excluded, without the publick permission of so much as one Synagogue in *England*.

But this our Protector having a large ( I say not conscience, but ) heart, and being of tender bowels, his charity extended so far, as to plead for the re-entertainment of these guests: to which purpose, he propounded it to several eminent Ministers for their approbation, alledging, that since there is a promise of their Conversion, means must be used to that end, which is the preaching of the Gospel; and that cannot be had, except they be permitted to reside where the Gospel is preached. But ( by his leave ) when Gods good time is come, there shall not be means wanting to accomplish that work; which being of an extraordinary nature, is not like to be done by ordinary means. Besides, such was ( then, and yet is ) the temper of the people of *England*, so full of diversities in opinions, and reduced to such an indifferency in matters of Religion, that it is more than probable, the number of their Profelytes would have exceeded that of our Converts.

But



But this is not all: for it seems our Protectors charity that we mentioned before, ( according to the Proverb ) began at home: he had a promise of 200000 *l.* from the *Jews*, in case he procured their Toleration here, as saith Mr. *Prynne* in his Narrative, p. 56. which sweet morsel he had swallowed by thus gratifying them, had not the design been opposed by Arguments as sharp as weapons of Steel.

The War with *Spain* beginning now to wax warm, not only under the Torrid Zone, but likewise Northwards of the Tropick; the Protector thought it best to annoy this Enemy in as many places as possible; which could not well be brought about without a peace with *France*, which being effected, room might be made for English Fleet to tread Flemish ground. The French at this time earnestly desired the same: for their chief Minister of State Cardinal *Mazarine* saw every Campaign, how prejudicious it was to his Masters Affairs in *Flanders* ( especially in besieging a Sea Port Town ) to be without correspondence with *England*. This gave the Protector not only opportunity of making up the long continued feud that had been betwixt the two Nations, but to do it on very advantageous terms, wherein the French King was content to deny himself, in sending out of his Dominions his near relations the Royal Family of *England*; which kindness the Protector requited, with sending him 6000 Foot Souldiers on condition the second Town they should help to take should fall to the English, and the French King should pay them. Thus the alliance was contract-

The impediments that hindered peace with *France* being past over, to the *Protectors* great content, he set himself wholly to a thorow prosecution of his Wars with *Spain*. For this purpose, the two Generals *Blake* and *Montague*, (since the Earl of *Sandwich*) had with a strong Navy long beleaguered the Port of *Cadiz* by Sea, and with many provocations endeavoured to dare out an Enemy: but the grave pac'd Spaniard durst not step one stride to drive the English from his coasts; but rather waited the lucky hour, when scarcity of provisions, or distress by weather should do the work to his hand, and save the Limbs and Lives of many good Catholicks which might miscarry in forcing the English farther off. But this piece of Policy little prevailed: For when the Fleet wanted water and other necessaries, the Generals found out a way to supply it, by sailing to the Bay of *Wyers* in *Portugal*, whence they were recruited; in the mean time leaving behind Captain *Stainer* with a Squadron of seven Ships to have an eye on *Cadiz*.

Now it hapned that in the absence of the Generals, a stiff gale of wind forc'd *Stainer* to ply it off to Sea, which brought him upon the discovery of an excellent object; it was the King of *Spain's* Plate-Fleet, richly laden with Gold, Silver, Pearl, and other good commodities newly brought from the *Indies*. The *Spaniards* at the first sight of the English Frigats, took them for Fisher-boats; which indeed they were, in a sense; for Captain *Stainer's* work was to fish for gold; and now seeing so fair a shoal swimming, he thought he would be sure

to catch some considerable quantity, or lose his life in the attempt: wherefore with these three, the *Speaker*, *Bridgwater*, and *Plymouth* Frigats, ) the remaining part of the Squadron being driven to Leeward ) he gallantly fell upon the Spanish great Galleons, which were seven in number; and plyed them so sore with great shot, that in a few hours the whole Fleet was quite spoiled; one whereof was sunk, another burnt, two forc'd on ground, one run away, and two remained in the Conquerors hands, which were safely conveyed to *England*, and very joyfully received by the Protector, who set apart a particular day to give God thanks for this good success.

The Protector being much necessitated for money, and withal impatient to tarry longer for a Confirmation of his Dignity by the People, which although he could not obtain of the preceding Parliament, he hoped he might gain of another; this perswaded him to attempt once more a new Representative: Which being resolved upon, he issued out Writs for Election throughout the three Nations.

But remembring the Speeches and carriage of some in the late Parliament; private intimation was given to certain persons in several Counties, to obstruct ( if possible ) their Election again in this ensuing Session: yet for all this, the generality of people being swayed by respect, made choice of them they thought fit, and such as were most able to carry on the weighty affairs of the Commonwealth.

September 17. 1656. being appointed for the general meeting at *Westminster*, the Members accordingly made their appearance at the Parliament-House, where they found (quite contrary to the ancient Priviledge of Parliament) that no Members could enter into the House, except they were first tyed up in a promise, Not to act any thing prejudicial to the present Government. Many of the Members would not bite at this Bait, but rather chose to return home again, seeing they could not sit with a safe conscience. Those that entred the House, having made choice of Sir *Thomas Widdrington* to be their Speaker, began to act answerable to the Protectors own desire: which we shall see in its due place: mean time, take this ensuing Relation of General *Blakes* worthy exploit against the *Spaniard*.

Of all the desperate Attempts that ever were made in the world against an Enemy by Sea, this of noble *Blakes* is not inferior to any: He lying upon the Spanish Coast, had intelligence given him, that the *West-India* Fleet were arrived at the *Canary-Islands*, and put into the Bay of *Sancta Cruz*, on the Island of *Tenariff*. Upon this, the Fleet weighs Anchor on the 13 of *April*, 1657. and by the 20th of the same Month, were fair in the *Offing* of *Sancta Cruz*, where they discovered how bravely the Spanish Ships (sixteen in number) were barricado'd in this Bay, where they lay in a manner Semi-circular. Near to the mouth of this Haven, stands a Castle sufficiently furnished with great Ordnance, which threatned destruction to any that durst enter without its leave into the

Harbour:

ge. Harbour : besides this, there stood seven Forts  
ord. more, round about the Bay, with six, four and  
ent. three great Guns apiece, and united together by  
o the a Line of Communication from one Fort to ano-  
them. ther, which was mann'd with Musqueteers. To  
were make all safe, *Don Diego Diagues*, General of the  
ning Spanish Fleet, was not idle, in making provision  
many for the best defence of his Armado: he caused all  
but the smaller ships to be moored close along the  
they shore, and the six great Galleons stood farther out  
that at Anchor, with their broadsides towards the Sea.  
Tho. It happened at this time, there was a Dutch Mer-  
o act chants ship in the Bay, the Master whereof seeing  
hich the English ready to enter, and that a combate  
this would presently be commenced, it made him fear  
ploit that among all the blows that would be given, he  
were could not avoid some knocks; therefore to save  
this himself, he went to *Don Diego*, and desired his leave  
ying to depart the Harbour: *For (said he) I am very*  
given sure, *Blake will presently be amongst you.* To this,  
t the the resolute *Don* made no other reply, but *Get you*  
gone if you will, and let *Blake* come if he dares.

*Cruz,* They that knew *Blakes* courage, could not but  
Fleet know it needless to dare him to an engagement,  
d by for himself was ever forward enough to fight, es-  
e Of- pecially when the honour of his Nation lay at  
how stake: like himself were his Sea men, who never  
were questioned Commands, but readily ran upon the  
man most desperate attempts: which shewed, that  
s Ha courage in a Commander, infuseth activity in the  
with Souldiers: as here it appeared in an eminent man-  
on to ner: for General *Blake* having seen his Enemy,  
o the presently called a Council of Officers to contrive  
our :



the best way for carrying on the present exploit. In this Council of War, Glory quite eclipsed hazard; so that little else was discoursed upon, but a quick Execution, which quite buryed difficulty in Oblivion. All things being ordered for fight, a Squadron of Ships was drawn out of the whole Fleet to make the first Onset: these were commanded by Captain *Stainer*, in the *Speaker* Frigat: who no sooner had received Orders, but immediately he flew into the Bay with his canvas wings, and by eight in the morning fell pell-mell upon the Spanish Fleet, without the least regard to the Forts, that spent their shot prodigally upon him. No sooner were these entered into the Bay, but *Blake* following after, placed certain Ships to pour broadsides into the Castle and Forts, these played their parts so well, that after some time the Spaniards found their Forts too hot to be held. In the mean time, *Blake* strikes in with *Stainer*, and bravely fought the Spanish Ships, which were not much inferiour in number to the English, but in men they were far the superiour. Here we see, a resolute bravery many times may carry the day, and make number lie by the Lee: this was manifest; for by two of the Clock in the afternoon, the English had beaten their Enemies out of their Ships.

Now *Blake* seeing an impossibility of carrying them away, he ordered his men to fire their prizes: which was done so effectually, that all the Spanish Fleet were reduced to ashes, except two Ships that sunk downright, nothing remaining of them above water, but some part of their masts.

The

The English having now got a compleat victory, were put to another difficulty by the wind, which blew so strong into the Bay, that many despaired of getting out again. But Gods providence was miraculously seen, in causing the wind upon the sudden to vere about to the South-west (a thing not known in many years before) which brought *Blake* and his Fleet safe to Sea again, notwithstanding the *Spaniards* from the Castle played their great Guns perpetually upon them as they passed by. The wind, as it proved a friend to bring the English forth, so it continued to carry them back again to their former station near to *Cadiz*.

Should we compare the vastness of this attempt with the diminutive loss the English received, it may go near to raise incredulity in the Reader. However, it must not be past over in silence. All the men that *Blake* had slain in this fight, which lasted from eight in the morning to seven at night, were but 48, and 120 wounded. On the Spanish side, all was lost that could be lost, their whole Fleet being quite destroyed; so that the English gain was nothing but honour, which ever attended *Blakes* attempts.

For this good service, the Protector at the Parliaments desire, sent this worthy Commander a Ring worth five hundred pounds, and presently after Captain *Stainer* came to *England* that his Ship might be new fitted for the Sea, which gave the Protector a fair opportunity to clap on his shoulders a whole Knighthood, which served to satisfy for all his brave services.

The Protector, according to a private agreement with *France*, prepared a Brigade of Foot to joyn with the *French Army* under command of Marshal *Turin*, that so both together might fall into *Flanders* against the *Spaniards*. The English Forces designed for this service, were 6000, many of them old Souldiers, but most new raised men, over whom Sir *John Reynolds* was made Commander in Chief, and Colonel *Morgan* Major-General (who afterwards was Knighted by the Lord *Richard Cromwel* for his eminent service) these being provided with all necessaries for a march, were rendezvouzed on *Black-Heath*; from whence they marched away to the Sea-side, and were immediately transported over to *Bulloin* in *Picardy*. At their landing, the Souldiers had all new Red-Coats, distributed amongst them, which made such a glistering show, that the French King said he never before saw the like sight. About the later end of *October*, 1657. the English were advanced into the Spanish Territories; and being joyned with *Turin*, the whole Army sate down before *Mardike-Fort* lying about two miles from *Dunkirk*. This place was looked upon to be of great importance, and might much conduce to the taking in of *Dunkirk* it self, (as afterwards it proved.) The French and English having beleaguered this strong place, did not lie long before they reduced it to a surrender upon Composition; so that it was delivered up wholly into the possession of the English. But presently after (the French being withdrawn into winter-quarters) came a strong body of *Spaniards*, commanded

ded by the Duke of York, and made a fierce Camisado upon the Fort, hoping to give the English little joy in their new Conquest; but it fell out quite otherwise: for the assailants were stoutly repulsed, and forc'd to flee, having lost in the attempt several brave Commanders.

The Protector's foreign affairs standing in a posture answerable to his desires, his domestick designs at the same time did likewise very well correspond thereunto: for the Parliament having sat near nine Months, had in this time past many Acts which crowned the Protector's hopes so fully, that more could not have been desired by him, nor well granted by them. For first, out of a deep sense of his loss (should such a design as bold Syndercomb's take effect) they made provisions for the security of his Highness's Person, wherein it was Enacted *High Treason, for any to attempt, compass, or imagine the Protector's death.*

And besides this, (to answer the end for which they were called) round sums of money were granted to carry on the Spanish War (notwithstanding his Highness's late Conquests in the *Indies*) that so the Protector might with more facility bang the legs of that long-limb'd Enemy. The Acts made for this purpose, were these that follow:

An

*Per Mens.*

An Act for an Assessment up- on <i>England</i> , for three Months, at the rate of _____	}	60000. l.
On <i>Scotland</i> , for three Months, at _____		05000 l.
On <i>Ireland</i> , for three Months, at _____	}	05000. l.

On *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* for three years :

*England* to pay \_\_\_\_\_ 35000 l.

*Scotland*, \_\_\_\_\_ 06000. l.

*Ireland*, \_\_\_\_\_ 09000 l.

An Act for continuing of Tunnage and Poundage.

An Act for preventing the multiplicity of buildings in and about the Suburbs of *London*, and within ten miles thereof : a whole years Revenue to be presently paid, for dwelling or out-Houses that had been reared upon new Foundations since the year 1620.

An Act for Excise of merchandize imported ; Hobby Horses, Childrens Rattles, and old shirts not exempted.

These, with many more, being at once presented to the Protector for his consent, were by him passed : at which time he made this short Speech to the Parliaments Speaker.

*I perceive, that among these many Acts of Parliament, there hath been a very great care had by the Parliament to provide for the just and necessary support of the Commonwealth, by these Bills for levying of money now brought to me, which I have*  
given



given my consent unto: and understanding it hath been the practice of those who have been chief Governors, to acknowledge with thanks to the Commons, their care and regard of the Publick, I do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness herein.

The Protectors thanks for this, could do no less than animate the Parliament to compleat the great work they were about for settlement of the Nation. This business had been daily debated, and was almost brought to perfection, when on a sudden, a Petition was ushered into the House by a worthy Citizen of London, to have his Highness one Tittle higher in his Title. Hereupon, the great Machine of Englands Government, called the Petition and Advice, was hastened away to the Protectors view, with a desire that his Highness would be pleased to magnifie himself with the Title of KING. Six or seven are appointed of their house by the Parliament to persuade his Highness thereto. Their Arguments were these: That the title of King had obtained from the very infancy of this Nation above a thousand three hundred years; That sometimes the person of the King has been displeasing to the people, but the title of King was never abrogated: Moreover that the title is interwoven in our laws, accommodated to the genius of the people, approved by the suffrages not only of the preceeding Parliament, but also of this. To this the Protector answers, That these Arguments are perswading, but not cogent; that the title of Protector may be adapted to the Laws; That providence is against them, that hath already altered the name;

## 286 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

name; And that he were much to be blamed if he should displease so many pious and religious men. The Committee reply: That the title ought to be accommodated to the Laws, and not the Laws to titles; yea that the innovation of title is suspected, as being the cover of hidden tyranny; and that the inconveniences of such change are not presently felt: for which very reason it was by the Parliament denied to King James (when he came first to this kingdom) to put in his title Great Britain, for England and Scotland. That by refusing the title of King he should not so much derogate from his own honour as the Nations, for whose honour it was to have a King for the supreme Governour. That under the name of Protector was never designed the supreme Moderator, unless temporary for guarding the King in his minority and administering of the kingdom, and that generally such had been unfortunate. That that appellation having at this time sprung from the souldiers favoured of victory, and might with very good reason be rescinded by another Parliament. That the title of King being once abolished, the Government will be unstable and flitting, and will not long stand on a tottering foundation: That it has been changed three or four times in five years, and does yet fluctuate; as heretofore it was of bad omen to the people of Rome to differ about a title, neither enduring the name of Reince, nor of perpetual Dictator, nor of Prince of the Senate, till at length the will and pleasure of Caesar was bad for Law. But that which they laid the greatest stress upon was the Statute of the ninth year of Edward the Fourth, and of the third year of Henry the Seventh, where it is enacted, That none taking up

Arms

*Arms for the King, although unjustly, shall be permitted therefore; and that it was more upon the account of those laws than any affection of mind that many did take part with the King in the late wars. And as to Providence, that it is no less conspicuous in turning the government again into Monarchy for avoiding confusion and bridling the tumults of the people, than in changing the name of Monarchy into Protectorship. Lastly, that good and pious men would acquiesce in the decree of the Parliament, although perhaps they might seem privately to differ. Much more was said on one side and the other, but all much to this purpose.*

In the mean time the private intercessions of dissenting parties are as instant upon him. Most of the Lawyers, Commissioners of the great Seal, Judges, and some chief Officers of the Army, on the foregoing reasons, do entreat and importunately urge him to consent to take upon him the title of King. On the other side, the Anabaptists, Sectaries and Common-wealth party by their Letters, discourses and Petitions do dissuade him as much from it; as also the Souldiers and inferiour Officers by their Petitions. At last he positively declares to the Parliament in the Painted Chamber, *That he could not undertake the government with the title of King.* Upon this, the Parliament voted that *Protector* should be the stile of the chief Magistrate.

All things being now brought to maturity in the *Petition and Advice*, and nothing wanting to make it a Law, but only the Protector's condescension; a Committee was sent to desire a Conference

ference with his Highness: which he granted, and appointed the place of meeting to be in the Painted Chamber. May 25. 1657. his Highness (attended by his chief Officers) came accordingly; and there the Speaker Sir Thomas Widdrington, presented him with the Parliaments Petition and Advice; the substance whereof was as followeth:

1. That his Highness under the Title of Lord Protector, would be pleased to exercise the office of chief Magistrate over England, &c. and to govern according to all things in this Petition and Advice: also, that in his life-time he would appoint the Person that should succeed in the Government after his death.

2. That he would call Parliaments consisting of two Houses, once in three years at farthest.

3. That those Persons who are legally chosen by a free election of the people to serve in Parliament, may not be excluded from doing their duties, but by consent of that House whereof they are Members.

4. In the fourth was shewn the qualifications of Parliament-Members.

5. In the fifth, the Power of the other House.

6. That the Laws and Statutes of the Land be observed and kept; and no Laws altered, suspended, abrogated, repealed, or new Law made, but by Act of Parliament.

7. For a constant yearly revenue, ten hundred thousands pounds to be settled for maintenance of the Navy and Army, and three hundred thousand pounds for support of the Government, besides other temporary supplies;

supplies, as the Commons in Parliament shall see the necessities of the Nations to require.

8. That the number of the Protectors Council shall not be above one and twenty; whereof the Quorum to be seven, and not under.

9. The chief Officers of State, as Chancellors, Keepers of the great Seal, &c. to be approved of by Parliament.

10. That his Highness would encourage a Godly Ministry in these Nations; and that such as do revile or disturb them in the Worship of God, may be punished according to Law; and where the Laws are defective, new ones to be made in that behalf.

11. That the Protestant Christian Religion, as it is contained in the Old and New Testaments, be asserted and held forth for the publick profession of these Nations, and no other; and that a Confession of Faith be agreed upon and recommended to the people of these Nations; and none be permitted by words or writings to revile or reproach the said Confession of Faith, &c.

This is the sum of the most material matters contained in the Parliaments Advice; which the Protector liked very well, and was resolved to follow; yet with much reluctancy in himself, considering the great burthen that was to be born upon his shoulders, which he had rather any man should bear than himself: but being it was the pleasure of Parliament that none but he must be the buckler to defend *Englands* Priviledges, he past their Petition, and declared unto the whole Assembly, as followeth:

*That*



That he came thither that day, not as to a Triumph, but with the most serious thoughts that ever he had in all his Life, being to undertake one of the greatest burthens that ever was laid upon the back of any humane creature; so that without the support of the Almighty, he must sink under the weight of it, to the damage and prejudice of these Nations. This being so, he must ask help of the Parliament, and of those that fear God, that by their prayers he might receive assistance from God: for nothing else could enable him to the discharge of so great a duty and trust.

That seeing this is but an Introduction to the carrying on of the Government of these Nations, and there being many things which cannot be supplied without the assistance of Parliament, it was his duty to ask their help in them; not that he doubted: for the same Spirit that had led the Parliament to this, would easily suggest the same to them. For his part, nothing would have induced him to take this unsupportable burthen to flesh and blood, but that he had seen in the Parliament a great care in doing those things, which might really answer the ends that we have engaged for, and make clearly for the liberty of the Nations, and for the Interest and preservation of all such as fear God under various Forms. And if these Nations be not thankful to them for their care therein, it will fall as a sin on their heads.

Yet there are some things wanting that tend to reformation to the discountenancing vice, and the encouragement of vertue: but he spake not this as in the least doubting their progress, but as one that doth  
heartily

heartily desire, to the end God may crown their work, that in their own time, and with what speed they judge fit, these things may be provided for.

This Speech being ended, the Members returned again to the House; and in few days after, the Speaker received a Letter from the Protector, desiring the Parliament to adjourn their sitting till further time. He upon, the speedy Inauguration of his Highness was concluded upon. It was appointed by the Parliament to be performed in *Westminster-Hall*, (June 26. 1657.) where in the upper end there was an Ascent raised, where a Chair and Canopy of State was set, and a Table with another Chair for the Speaker, with Seats built Scaffold-wise for the Parliament on both sides; and places below for the Aldermen of *London*, and the like. All which being in a readiness, the Protector came out of a Room adjoining to the Lords House (having come thither from *White-Hall* by water) and in this order proceeded into the Hall. First went his Gentlemen, then a Herald; next the Aldermen, another Herald, the Attorney General; then the Judges, then *Norroy*, the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and the Seal carried by Commissioner *Fiennes*; then Garter, and after him the Earl of *Warwick* with the sword born before the Protector, bare-headed, the Lord Mayor *Tichborn* carrying the City sword by his left hand: Being seated in his Chair, on the left hand thereof stood the Lord Mayor and the *Dutch Ambassador*; the *French Ambassador* and the Earl of *Warwick* on the right; next behind him stood

his sons *Richard*, *Fleetwood*, *Cleypole*, and the Privy Council; upon a lower descent stood the Lord Viscount *Lisle*, Lord *Montague* and Mr. *Whitelock* with drawn swords.

Then the Protector standing up under a Cloth of Estate, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Speaker to the House, addrest himself to him in this Speech.

May it please your Highness,

**Y**OU are now upon a great Theatre, in a large Chore of people: You have the Parliament of England, Scotland and Ireland before you: On your right hand my Lords the Judges, and on your left hand, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs of London, the most noble and populous City of England. The Parliament with the interposition of your suffrage makes Laws; and the Judges, and Governors of London are the great dispensers of those Laws to the people.

The occasion of this great convention and intercourse is to give an Investiture to your Highness in that eminent place of Lord Protector; a name which you had before, but it is now settled by the full unanimous consent of the people of these three Nations assembled in Parliament: you have no new name, but a new date added to the old name; the 16 of December, is now changed to the 26 of June.

I am commanded by the Parliament to make oblation to your Highness of four things in order to this Inauguration.

Then

Then he presented to him a Robe of Purple-Velvet lined with Ermines, a Bible, a Sword and a Scepter: at the delivery whereof he made a short comment upon them to the Protector, as followeth:

1. The Robe of Purple, this is an embleme of Magistracy, and imports Righteousness and Justice: When you have put on this V'stment, I may say you are a Gown-man. This Robe is of a mixt colour, to shew the mixture of Justice and Mercy. Indeed, a Magistrate must have two hands, Plectentem, & amplectentem.

2. The Bible is a Book that contains the Holy Scriptures, in which you have the happiness to be well versed. This Book of Life consists of two Testaments, the Old and New: the first contains Christum Velatum; the second, Christum Revelatum: it is a Book of Books, and doth contain both Precepts and Examples for good Government.

3. Here is a Scepter, not unlike a staff: for you are to be a staff to the weak and poor: it is of ancient use in this kind. It's said in Scripture, that the Scepter shall not depart from Judah. It was of like use in other Kingdoms: Homer the Greek Poet calls Kings and Princes, Scepter-Bearers.

4. The last thing is a Sword, not a Military, but Civil Sword; it is a Sword rather of defence than offence; not to defend your self only, but others also. If I might presume to fix a Motto upon this Sword, it should be this: Ego sum domini Protectoris, ad protegendum populum meum.

244 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

*Long may you prosperously enjoy them all to your own comfort, and the comfort of the people of these three Nations.*

This Speech being ended, the Speaker came from his Chair, took the Robe, and therewith vested the Protector, being assisted therein by the Earl of Warwick, Mr. Whitlock and others. Which done the Bible was delivered him, after that the Sword girt about him; and last of all he had the Scepter delivered him. These things being performed, Mr. Speaker returned unto his Chair and administered him his Oath, in these words :

*I do in the presence and by the name of Almighty God, promise and swear, that to the uttermost of my power I will uphold and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion, in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to the uttermost of my power and understanding; and encourage the Profession and Professors of the same; and that to the utmost of my power I will endeavour as Chief Magistrate of these three nations, the maintenance and preservation of the peace and safety, and just rights and priviledges of the people thereof; and shall in all things according to our best knowledge and power, govern the people of these three Nations according to Law.*

Afterwards, Mr. Manton made a Prayer, wherein he recommended the Protector, Parliament, Council, the Forces by Land and Sea, Government, and people of the three Nations, to the Protection of God. Which being ended, the Heralds by sound of Trumpet proclaimed his

Highness



Highness Protector of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging: requiring all persons to yield him due obedience. Hereupon the Trumpets sounded again, and the people (after the usual manner) gave several acclamations, with loud shouts, crying, *God save the Lord Protector.* At the end of all the Protector with his Train returned to *White-Hall*, and the Members to the Parliament House, where they prorogued their sitting to the next *January*.

There is no humane joy free from the mixture of some sorrow; yea many times it falleth out to be equivalent to (if not superabounding) the joy it self. So it fell out here: for though the Protector might rejoyce at this acquisition of a Scepter, yet the death of General *Blake* (like a dish of cold water cast into the boyling Pot of his rising fortunes) could do no less than mitigate the heat of it, and cover the Courts countenance with a Cypress Vail.

This noble *Blake* was first a Student in *Wadham* Colledge in *Oxford*, where he took the degree of Master of Arts; and going from thence liv'd a good while retired in the Country in *Somersetshire*; till the Civil war coming on he engaged on the Parliament side, for whom he almost miraculously defended *Lime* and *Taunton* against the fury of Prince *Maurice* and the Lord *Goring's* Armies. Afterwards, the worth of this inestimable great Commander being taken notice of in Parliament, they resolved, it should not long lie hid at home, but shew it self abroad, and

246 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

therefore he was advanced to be one of their Generals at Sea. At his entrance into this Office, he pent up Prince *Rupert* in the chief Port of *Portugal*, and hunted him from Sea to Sea, till he had reduced those ships with him, which before had revolted from the Parliament.

This was but petty Play, to after-Labours; For no sooner did the quarrel begin between the two Republicks, *England*, and the United Provinces, but *Blake* was the first that resisted their arrogancy in the *Downs*; and ever after continued a fortunate Vindicator of his Countries Priviledges, from the incroachments of insulting Neighbours. The last part he ever acted in a Sea of blood, was against the *Spaniards* at *Sancta Cruz*; here with 25 Sail, he fought (as it were in a ring) with seven Forts, a Castle, and 16 ships, many of them being of greater force than most of those ships *Blake* carryed in against them: yet in spite of opposition, he soon calcined the Enemy, and brought his Fleet back again to the Coast of *Spain* full fraught with honour. But what Commander is able to repel the stroaks of Death? This is he that doth conquer the Conquerors, and level the Honours of the mightiest Monarchs with the meanest Captains: there is no withstanding his force; for all must fall; *Blake* himself is compeld to strike the top-sail and yield, now death hath got the weather-gage of his crasie body; so that being no longer able to hold out, he expired at the entrance into *Plymouth*.

He was a man wholly devoted to his Countries Service, resolute in his undertakings, and most faithful in the performance : with him, valour seldom mist its reward, nor cowardize its punishment. When news was brought him of a metamorphosis in the State at home, he would then encourage the Sea-men to be most vigilant abroad : *For (said he) 'tis not our duty to mind State-Affairs, but to keep Foreigners from fooling us.* In all his Expeditions, the wind seldom deceived him, but most an end stood his friend ; especially in his last undertaking at the *Canary Islands*. To his last, he lived a single life, never being espoused to any but his Countries quarrels. As he lived bravely, he dyed gloriously, and was buried in *Henry the Seventh's Chapel* ; yet enjoying at this time no other Monument, but what is reared by his Valour ; which Time it self can hardly deface.

The Lord Protector having now ensured his own Greatness, he thought it good to confer Titles of honour and preferment upon his Children ; and to that purpose he invested his Son *Richard* Chancellor of *Oxford* ; next he was sworn a Privy Counsellor, and made a Colonel in the Army ; and not long after the first Lord of the *other House*. He sent his Son *Henry* into *Ireland* with the Title of Lord Deputy. This young Gentleman in his Government ruled with so much discretion, that in a small time he brought that disordered Nation into the most hopeful condition of a flourishing State.

## 248 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

His Daughters had before been all married: *Elizabeth* his darling, before his Greatness, to a private Gentleman, one *Mr. Cleypole* of *Warwickshire*; his daughter *Mary* to the Lord Viscount *Fauconbridge*, of the noble Family of the *Bellasis*, and his daughter *Frances* to *Mr. Robert Rich*, eldest Son to *Robert Lord Rich*, and Grandson to *Robert Earl of Warwick*.

The time of the prorogation of the present Parliament being expired, the Members appeared again at *Westminster* the 20th of *January* 1657. and did presently receive into the House their fellow-Members which the Protector had before excluded from sitting in the first Session of this Parliament. This they did, upon the fourth Article of the Petition and Advice, by which, *no Members legally chosen, should be excluded from performance of their duty, but by consent of Parliament.*

In this interval of the Parliaments sitting, the Protector had provided his Peers which were to make up the *other House*, who accordingly took Seats in the Lords House: but with so much regret to the House of Commons, whose complexion was quite changed from what it had been formerly, that now they would not own the work of their creation, but looked upon it as a by-blow, a thing by chance, or a Pageant Parliament set up on purpose to mock them. In this surly humour the Protector let them run on for near a fortnight together, till at last they made his Highness wince with handling his Prerogative-Royal; which he being not able to endure, in a huff flew from *White Hall* to the House of Lords; and

and having sent for the Commons before him, he told them, *That it concerned his interest, as much as the Publick Peace and Tranquillity, to terminate this Parliament; and therefore he did now put an end to their sitting.* Thus he blew them away with a sudden puff of wind from his mouth.

But now comes into play a terrible Plot; no less place than *London* was to be fired, and in the hurly-burly of confusion that it would make, must the Tower be taken, the Mews seized, and all the Souldiers about the City be sacrificed to the fury of ——— The Protector being well acquainted with these kind of machinations, knew very well how to stifle them in the birth; and therefore he sent presently for the Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London*, to forewarn them of the approaching danger, and to Commissionate their *Militia* to raise Forces for security of their City, and by their vigilancy to counter-plot these Plotters. Upon this, many persons were apprehended, a High Court of Justice erected, and Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Dr. *Hewyt*, Mr. *Mordant*, and many inferior fellows who were to have been Commanders in the execution of this design, were brought to tryal. Sir *Henry Slingsby* and the Doctor were both condemned to lose their Heads upon *Tower-Hill*; and six others (of the meaner sort) were adjudged to be hanged, drawn and quartered: but of these, only three suffered: one in *Tower-street*, another in *Cheapside*; and the third before the *Exchange* in *London*. For the procuring of Sir *Henry Slingsby* and Dr. *Hewyt*s Pardon, great endeavours



## 246 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

endeavours were used: the Ministers of *London* petitioned the Protector for the Doctors life, and many great persons for the Knights: But the Protector's ears were deaf to all intreaties made in their behalf; so that nothing could satisfy his anger, but the lives of those two considerable persons.

Prodigies in nature, as they are seldom seen, so when they happen, are sure presages and fore-tokens of alterations that shall fall out in the place where they do appear. At this time, *June 2. 1658.* arrived an ominous Whale in the River of *Thames*, (not to do *Homage to His Highness* (this was a fond conceit) as one would have it) but rather to forewarn him of his end (which not long after happened.) This fish, contrary to its nature, which is to return to Sea when it scents the fresh water, came swimming up the River against the Tide as far as *Greenwich*, where it was taken, and found to be fifty eight foot in length, and every way proportionable.

*Flanders* being the Scene of War, wherein the united Forces of *England* and *France* did intend this Champaign to act mighty matters; in the beginning of *May*, *D' Aumont* a French Marshal, hoping to get a good bargain, turns Merchant, and trucks for *Ostend*. Money, as it overturns all things, was at this time made use of to corrupt the Noble blood of the Souldiers of that Garison, and make them turn Traytors to this their trust: but the sequel will shew how far honesty is above treachery. The chief Factor that drove on this bargain, was one Colonel *Spindeler*: he having acquainted the Governour of *Calice* that

that *Ostend* was to be sold, this Monsieur's mouth presently watered at the motion, and therefore acquaints the Court how a rich commodity was now offered to sale at a cheap rate. The French *Grande*s presently bite at the bait, little doubting the hook was daub'd over with this pretty pretence, that the Governor, Magistrates and Citizens of *Ostend*, being grieved at the English keeping their Coast blockt up with Ships, to rid themselves of this continual trouble, they would rather be under *France*, than remain any longer in their present condition. This motion being made, they came to a price, and agreed upon a good round sum of money, which Marshal *D' Aumont* was appointed to pay, and take possession of the place at a time agreed on. He being well apaid in the employment, slyly slipped from *Calice* with three Ships fraught with Souldiers, and soon after fell in amongst a Squadron of English Ships commanded by Vice-Admiral *Goodson*, then lying near *Ostend*. The English Commander seeing how confident these the Protectors Confederates were in the design they went about, was willing to assist them with Sea-men, the better to facilitate their landing. Whilst *D' Aumont* was preparing to enter the Town according to agreement, the *Spaniards* within (being a courteous Nation where they take affection) were very active in making preparations for the entertainment of their French Guests: to this end, the Governor of *Ostend* caused the Inhabitants to keep their Houses, and not to stir from thence till they heard the Bells ring in the City Steeple: then

then the great Church, and Capuchin Friars Church, with many more secret places, were crowded with clusters of Souldiers; these were to give the French a *Spanish Fig* at their landing. All things being in readiness on both sides, *May* the 4th in the morning, some of the Frenchmen (that were before received into the Town) went out and invited their Country-men to come in. *D' Aumont* upon this, and the sight of white Colours placed upon the Walls, (for Decoys,) did not in the least distrust, but took all to be gold that glister'd. Hereupon, the tide beginning to serve, about ten in the morning, four French Vessels, a ship of *Dover*, and six or seven Boats from the English ships, sailed into the Haven; and presently the French landing upon the Key, were in a trice drawn up in Battalia. Upon this, certain Spanish Officers went to enquire for the money that was promised them? to which the French returned answer, That it was ready in one of their ships. This being as much as could be expected, the Officers returned into the Town again, and immediately shewed the French an *a la mode* trapanning trick, for the great Guns from two Batteries (one of which was mounted with twelve, the other with eight,) let flie their murdering shot upon the poor French Foot; and to compleat their misery, the Bells rung (as before appointed) which brought the Souldiers and Towns-men about their ears. The French now (when it was too late) seeing how hard a bargain they were like to have, made some small stir at the beginning: but finding it fruitless

fruitless to resist, they laid down their Arms, and submitted on quarter. Thus much for the taking of *Ostend*.

The *lie Spaniard* having thus starved their Enemy, it raised in the French an unquenchable thirst of revenge; and therefore to quit scores, the whole French and English Armies joyned together, resolving to wreak their wrath upon the Town of *Dunkirk*.

This place may be called, *The Key of Flanders*, it being a Sea-Port-Town, and (of all men) best known to English-Merchants, whose ships were frequently carryed prize into it. But now to put a *finis* to their infinite Losses, a formidable Seige was framed before it, which hotly alarm'd the *Spaniards* in all their Quarters.

Hereupon, *Don John* of *Austria* takes these two things into serious consideration: first, the importance of the place: for its Situation, it was a Key to *Flanders*, a frontier to *France* (next after *Graveling*) and a certain supply of moneys, by continual booties brought in thither by his men of War. On the other side, should he lose *Dunkirk*, the English (in whose possession it would be put) had a door opened, and fit opportunity to bid fair for all *Flanders*; here might an Army be landed from *England*, and from hence incursions made to the Walls of *Bruxels*. Mean time, the Spanish Ports, *Newport* and *Ostend*, could expect no less than to be perpetually infested by men of war; which would utterly spoyl their Trade, and ruine the Inhabitants, these and such like considerations mounted

*Don*

*Don John* upon fixt resolutions to undertake the relief of *Dunkirk*, though it were to the hazard of his whole Army.

Mean while, the Confederate Forces beleaguering this strong place, did in a small time (working like Moles) run their Trenches to the Spanish Counterfcarp; and still encroaching upon the Wall, they promised fair to a speedy accomplishment of their Design. These things were well known to the Spanish Army, who now saw the relief of *Dunkirk* would admit of no delay; for were it not speedily accomplished, the Town of necessity must lie prostrate to the Enemies mercy. The better to effect which therefore, *Don John* the Spanish General having drained his Garisons to fill up his Army, suddenly advanced with 15000 men to the relief of his distressed friends; these by a swift march through *Fuernes*, quickly seated themselves upon some sandy Hills within an English mile and a half of *Turenne* the French Generals Camp. The report of the Enemies near advance, made both the French and English Officers consult upon the best course that could be taken to repel the Force that now fate upon their Skirts, endeavour to frustrate their labour in the present Siege, and render it fruitless. Time for consultation being short, (for it was on the over-night) they agreed unanimously to give the *Spaniards* the next morning a warm breakfast. All this night, the Officers of both Nations were very active to provide for the ensuing action; the Army being found sufficient to fight a Field Battle, and at the same time to keep



keep the besieged from ranging abroad. For this service most of the English were drawn from their entrenchment; and being joyned to the French Horse, they marched against the Enemy. In the morning both Armies being come near together, it was perceived, the *Spaniards* posture was rather Defensive than Offensive: but the English Commanders knowing it was no time to dally, and being desirous withal to shew the discipline of their own Countrey, (which is to make seeing and fighting all one) did presently mount the Sand-Hills with a forlorn of three hundred Musquetiers commanded by Captain *Devaux*: after these followed that courageous Commander Lieutenant Colonel *Fenwick*, with the Lord General *Lockharts* Regiment. The *Spaniards* perceiving that the resolution of these men was by degrees to creep within them, did as highly resolve to keep them off at the Arms end, by pouring down perpetual vollies of great and small shot.

General *Lockhart* knowing what duty belonged to his Office, did here shew the part of a noble Commander: for finding the French unwilling to enter, now the English had opened the gap; and on the other side, seeing the gallantry of his own Regiment, who although they could no longer gain ground, yet still kept their station, notwithstanding they were exposed to the enemies assaults, he caused a considerable Brigade of fresh men to re-inforce those that had first born the brunt of the Battle. This Reserve (through General *Lockharts* care) coming in time to the relief of their tired fellows, made no long

long delay, but fell into the Spanish foot with the but-end of their Musquets; who not being able to withstand their courage, left the Field, and fled towards *Fuernes*. The French Horse seeing the good success of the English Foot, did likewise make a charge upon the Spanish Cavalry, who being disheartned with the routing of their Infantry, thought it their safest course to run after them. But the French shewed excellent valour in pursuit: for the day being won, none durst stand in their way: the poor *Spaniards* were sadly handly by them, and hew'd down on all sides. Being extreemly scatter'd in their flight, both the English and French were put to the trouble of gleaning for Prisoners, which at last were found to be 800 Officers, and about 2000 private Souldiers. How many were slain, is uncertain: for the Conquerors not being willing to lose time in numbring them, made hast back again in triumph to their former siege.

To particularize in setting forth the gallantry thus expressed on the English side in this encounter, would cause me to exceed my wonted brevity: let it therefore suffice to give an instance thereof in the personal valour of two only; viz. Colonel *Jones*, and Major General *Drummond* a Scotch-man, who were most eminent therein: these two Gentlemen came at first to *Dunkirk* only to satisfy their curiosity; but this fight hapning in the time of their stay, it raised in them a noble resolution to be no longer idle Spectators, but brave partakers in their Country mens labours. For Colonel *Jones* his part, he at the  
first

first on-set charged on foot with Lieutenant-Colonel *Fenwick*; and after mounting a Horse, fell so desperately on the *Spaniards*, that being too far engaged amongst them; he was made their Prisoner; but afterwards being exchanged, the Protector made him Knight and Baronet in recompence of his valour. Major General *Drummond*'s spirit being little inferior to the best in the Field, behaved himself with much bravery; which was so much the more, by how much the less he was concerned in the Quarrel; no obligation inducing him to venture his life, except it were the present engagement of some friends that bound him (through respect to them) to partake of their dangers; which afterwards proved his own death: for in the beginning of the fight, his Horse was shot under him; and presently after having mounted a second, he was by an unhappy push of a Pike dismounted again; yet still prosecuting the service more than minding his own safety, he received a desperate wound that brought him to the grave.

But now to return: The Army having vanquished the Relievers, did renew their attempts with extraordinary vigour upon the Town of *Dunkirk*. The Marquess de *Lieda* (Governour thereof) seeing how hardly he was beset, could not contain himself within the narrow compass of his own Walls, but having a desire to beat up the French mens Quarters, he suddenly sallied out of the Town with a strong Party; but alas, all proved to no purpose; the Fates cannot be withstood: neither was he free from

error in the attempt. For as if in a natural body (upon apprehension of danger) the vital spirits retire to the heart, life is preserved; but if they forsake that, and depart to the extremities; death ensues: so this *Don* (being the life of the rest, as indeed all Generals and Governours are to their Armies or Garisons) sallying out in person (that should have been encouraging those in the Town) procured his own death, and the miscarriage of his design, therein shewing more valour than discretion. For upon his death, a cold damp seized upon the *Dunkirkers*, who seeing what prodigious Balls of fire were flung out of the English Mortar Pieces into the Town, were sorely terrified thereby; and so much the more, in regard of their not being accustomed to such stratagems; his Holiness the Pope having prohibited the use of Granado's amongst his Catholics, to prevent the burning of Churches. Considering therefore that the longer they stood out, the harder would be their terms; and seeing all hope of relief by Land was lost, the sea secured against them, and daily discouragements arising every way; therefore to prevent further inconveniencies, the *Spaniards* desired a present Capitulation, which being easily granted, it was agreed that the Town should be surrendered upon these following Articles:

1. *That the Town should be yielded up, with all the great Guns, their stores of Victuals, Magazine of Arms and Ammunition, without any imbezlement.*

2. *The*

2. *The Officers and Souldiers to march out with Drums beating, Colours flying, two Pieces of Ordnance, and their Baggage.*

3. *That they should have the liberty to march with a Convey to conduct them to St. Omers.*

4. *The Inhabitants to remain indemnified in their Persons and Goods, and to enjoy their former Customs and Priviledges for two years, and not to be molested touching the exercise of their Religion.*

These Articles being ratified by the King of France; this strong Town of *Dunkirk* was delivered up into the hands of the English, by the King of France and Cardinal in Person, upon Tuesday, June 25. 1658. The Spaniards, at the same time quitting it, there marched out one thousand horse and foot; and seven hundred more, that had been wounded in the siege, followed after as their strength gave them leave. The English having possession of the Town, found in it 140 great Guns, all Brass except eight, with Ammunition and Provision sufficient to maintain it for a great while longer than it was kept.

The *Naseby* Frigate riding Admiral of the English Fleet in *Dunkirk* road, at that time when the Town was delivered up, Cardinal *Mazarin's* curiosity was whetted with reports of this stately Ship, insomuch that he desired to give her a visit: which General *Montague* understanding, he invited the Cardinal and other French Lords aboard: they all most readily accepted of it, and returned many complements (which



the French are never unprovided of) for the singular favour offered them. The time appointed being come, the Cardinal in his Pontificalibus, with a great Train of Noble-men, went in Boats, to see the Ship: at his lanching forth, the English Frigats, in the bravest equipage they could possibly be put, saluted him with the roaring noise of great Guns, so continuing firing as he past by them. Approaching near the *Naseby*, the English General with many officers and Gentlemen met him in their Boats, and conducted him aboard. His Eminency and the rest being landed in this floating Island, the General treated them with a noble Banquet, at which the Cardinal shewed so much abstemiousness, that of all the varieties provided for his entertainment, he tasted little, and only drank of Rhenish Wine: afterwards General *Montague* shewed him all the parts and places of this excellent ship; which so highly pleased the Cardinal, that he protested, *Of all the sights he ever saw, none in his life pleased him like this.* With this great satisfaction he returned again to the Shore; and as at his coming, (for a welcome) so again at his departure, all the Men of War gave him their broadsides for a farewell.

The year gliding thus away in Victories and Triumphs, *Dunkirk* forc'd to grow under the shade of the English Oak, and all prospering so well in *Flanders*, as if *Mars* himself had born the English Banners, caused endearing congratulations mutually to pass between the *Protector* and his *Cozens of France*. The Lord *Fayconbridge* being

ing made one of the blood by Matrimony, carryed the first complement to *Calice*, and there presented it to the King; which was quickly after returned back again by Monsieur *Mancini* nephew to Cardinal *Mazarine*, and the Duke de *Crequi*: these arrived at *London* to present their respects; which having done, they returned with high satisfaction. These being departed, another far-less-welcome Messenger arrived at the English Court, even Death it self, who came to require of our great *Cromwel* what was his due by Nature. Him no Arguments can perswade, nor Policies evade: here Prayers and Tears prevail not, neither can money bribe him: Promises of Preferment signifie nothing with him; for he lays all earthly Honour in the dust. His fatal Sickle cuts down all.

The first Symptomes of this great mans last sickness, appeared presently upon the death of his Daughter *Cleypole*; whose end is thought by many to have hastened his dissolution. About the beginning of *October*, his distemper discovered it self to be a bastard tertian Ague; which for a weeks time threatned no danger, for on his well-day it hinder'd him not from going abroad. But presently he began to grow worse, and so was brought from *Hampton court* (where he first fell sick, and where he had made a Will as to his domestick affairs) to *London*. The night after his arrival those that watched with him told his Physicians the next morning how strong his fit had been upon him that night, whereby the Physicians judged, that he would not get  
T 3 through

through the next. At which sentence those of His Privy Council being alarmed, came to put him in mind to appoint a Successor. But he being now become comatose and not answering to the purpose, they ask him again, whether he would that his eldest Son *Richard* should be his Successor: to which he answered Yes.

In the evening before his departure, he was heard to pray thus,

*Lord, I am a miserable Creature, yet I am in Covenant with thee through grace; and I may, I will come unto thee for thy people. Lord, thou hast made me (though very unworthy) a mean Instrument to do them some good, and thee service; and many of them had too high value of me, though others would be glad of my fall: but Lord, howsoever thou disposest of me, do good for them. Give consistency of Judgment, one heart and mutual love unto them. Let the name of Christ be glorious throughout the world. Teach those who look with much affliction to thy Instrument, to depend more upon thee. Pardon such as delight to trample upon the ashes of a Worm; for they are thy people too: And Pardon the folly of this short Prayer, even for Jesus Christ his sake.*

Afterwards his sickness violently increasing upon him, it separated his Soul from his Body on *Friday* the third of *September* 1658. near three of the Clock in the afternoon: death then became a Conqueror, and overcame him, that before had vanquished the Scotch Armies twice on the same day of the year.

The

The day before his death there was a most violent storm of wind, which was then elegantly set forth in this Poem.

*We must resign, Heaven his great soul doth claim  
In storms as loud as his immortal fame.*

*His dying groans, his last breath shakes our Isle,  
And Trees uncut fall for his Funeral pile:  
About His Palace their broad roots were tost  
Into the Air: so Romulus was lost:  
New Rome in such a tempest mist their King,  
And from obeying fell to worshipping.*

*On Ætna's top thus Hercules lay dead,  
With ruin'd Oaks and Pines about him spread:  
Those his last fury from the Mountains rent;  
Our dying Hero from the Continent  
Ravish'd whole Towns, and Forts from Spaniards rest,  
As his last Legacy to Britain left.*

*The Ocean which so long our hopes confin'd,  
Could give no limits to his vaster mind.  
Our bounds enlargement was his latest toil,  
Nor hath he left us Pris'ners to our Isle.  
Under the Tropick is our language spoke,  
And part of Flanders hath receiv'd our yoke.*

*From Civil broils he did us disengage,  
Found nobler objects for our Martial rage;  
And with wise conduct to his Countrey show'd  
Their ancient way of conquering abroad.  
Ungrateful then it were no tears t' allow  
To him that gave us Peace and Empire too.  
Princes that fear'd him grieve, concern'd to see  
No pitch of Glory from the Grave is free.*

*Nature her self took notice of his death,  
And sighing swell'd the Sea with such a breath,  
That to remotest shores her billows roll'd  
Th' approaching fate of their great Ruler told.*

The Corpse, presently after his expiration, being embalmed, and wrapped up in a Sheet of Lead, was on the twenty sixth of September, about ten at night, privately removed from *White-hall* in a mourning Horse, attended by his domestick Servants to *Somerset House*, where it remained in private for some days, till all things were in readiness for publick view; which being accomplished, his Effigies was with great state and magnificence exposed openly; multitudes daily flocking to see the sight, which appeared in this order. The first room where the Spectators entered, was wholly hung with black; at the upper end whereof, was placed a Cloath and Chair of State: In like manner, was the second and third rooms, all having Scutcheons very thick upon the Walls, and Guards of Partizans placed in each room for people to pass through. The fourth room was compleatly hung with black Velvet, the Cieling being of the same: here lay the Effigies, with a large Canopy of black Velvet fringed, which hung over it. The Waxed Picture lying upon its back, was apparel'd in a rich Suit of Velvet, robed in a little Robe of Purple Velvet, laced with a rich gold Lace, and furr'd with Ermins: upon the Kirtle was a large Robe of Purple-Velvet, laced and furr'd as the former, with rich strings and tassels



tassels of gold. The Kirtle was girt with a rich embroydered Belt, wherein was a Sword bravely gilt and hatched with gold, which hung by the side of the Effigies. In the right hand was a Scepter, in the left a Globe; upon his head was placed a Purple Velvet Cap furr'd with Ermines, suitable to the Robes: behind the head, was placed a rich Chair of Tissued Gold, whereon was placed an Imperial Crown, which lay high, that the people might behold it. The Bed of State whereon he lay, was covered with a large Pall of black Velvet, under which was a Holland sheet, born up by six stools covered with Cloath of gold. About the Bed was placed a compleat suit of Arms, and at the feet of the Effigies stood his Crest. This Bed had fixt about it an Ascent of two steps; a little from thence stood eight silver Candlesticks about five foot high; with white wax Tapers standing in them, of three foot long. All these things were environed with Rails and Ballasters four-square, covered with Velvet; at each corner whereof there was erected an upright Pillar, which bore on their tops Lions and Dragons, who held in their Paws Streamers Crowned. On both sides of the Bed were set up in sockets, four great Standards of the Protectors Arms, with Banners and Banrols of War, painted upon Taffaty. About the Bed stood men in Mourning bare-headed; and without the Rails, others to receive people in, and turn them out again.

When this shew had been seen for many weeks together, the Scene was then altered, the Effigies being

being removed into another room, it was there set up, standing upon an Ascent under a Cloath of State; being vested as it was before, lying: only now his Purple-Velvet Cap was changed for a Crown. In the same manner as formerly, were men waiting upon him bare-headed. In this posture he continued until the 23 of *November*, which day was appointed to carry him in all solemnity to *Westminster-Abbey*.

This great Funeral was performed with very great Majesty, in this manner following. All things being in readiness, the Waxen Picture of the Protector (with a Crown on his head, a Sword by his side, a Globe and Scepter in his Hands) was taken down from his standing, and was carried on the Hearse by ten Gentlemen into the Court-yard, where a very rich Canopy of State was born over it by six other Gentlemen till it was brought and placed in an open Chariot, covered all over with black Velvet, adorned with Plumes and Scutcheons, and drawn by six Horses in black Velvet, each of them adorned with Plumes of black Feathers. At each end of the Chariot was a seat wherein sat two of His late Highness Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber. The Pall which was made of Velvet, and the white Linen was very large, extending on each side of the Carriage, and was born up by several persons of honour. The Streets from *Somerset-House* to *Westminster-Abbey*, were guarded by Souldiers in new Red Coats and black Buttons, with their Ensigns wrapt in Cypress: which with the Rails made a Lane to keep off Spectators from crouding the Actors.

## For the Procession.

In the first place went a Marshal attended by his Deputy, and thirteen more on horseback, to clear the way; after him followed the poor men of *Westminster* by two and two, in Mourning Gowns and Hoods: next to them, the servants of those Persons of quality that attended the Funeral. These were followed by the Protectors late domestick servants, with his Barge-men and Water-men. Then came the servants of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*. Following them, were Gentlemen Attendants on Foreign Ambassadors and publick Ministers. After marched the poor Knights of *Windsor* in Gowns and Hoods: then the Clerks, Secretaries, and Officers of the Army, Admiralty, Treasury, Navy, and Exchequer: next, the Commissioners of the Excise, of the Army, and Committee of the Navy. Then the Commissioners for approbation of Preachers: behind these followed all the Officers, Messengers, and Clerks belonging to the Privy Council, and both Houses of Parliament. Next in order followed

The Protectors Physicians.

The Head Officers of the Army.

The Officers and Aldermen of *London*.

The Masters of Chancery, and His Highness Council at Law.

The Judges of Admiralty, Judges in *Wales*, and Master of Requests.

The

The Barons of the Exchequer, Judges of both Benches, and Lord Mayor of *London*.

The Persons Allied in Blood to the Protector, and the Members of the other House.

The publick Ministers of Foreign Princes.

The *Holland* Ambassador alone, having his Train held up by four Gentlemen.

Then the *Portugal* Ambassador, and the *French* Ambassador, in like manner.

The Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal.

The Commissioners of the Treasury.

The Lords of His Highness Privy-Council.

All the Grandees were in close Mourning, the rest but in ordinary.

The whole Assembly passing along in divisions, were distinguished by Drums, Trumpets, Banners and Horses, whereof there were eleven in all, four being covered with black Cloath, and seven in Velvet. These passing in comely order, at length came the Chariot with the Effigies, on each side of which were six Banner-Rolls (twelve in all) born by several Persons; And likewise several Pieces of the Protectors Armour carried by eight Officers of the Army, attended by the Heralds. Next went *Garter* Principal King of Arms, attended by a Gentleman on each hand bare-headed. Now came the chief Mourner. And to conclude all, came the Horse of Honour, in very rich Trappings imbroydered on Crimson-Velvet, and adorned with white, red, and yellow Plumes of Feathers, being led by the Master of the Horse. The Rear of this brave shew was brought up by the Protectors Guard of Halberdiere, the Warders of the Tower, and a Troop of Horse.

The

The Effigies in this manner being brought to the West Gate of the *Abbey-Church* of *Westminster*, it was taken from the Chariot by ten Gentlemen, who carried it to the East-end of the Church and there placed the Picture in a most Magnificent Structure built in the same Form as one before had been ( on the like occasion ) for King *James*, but much more Stately.

Thus much for the History of *Oliver Cromwell*: Now follows His Character.

WE find him in the beginning of *England's* Distractions, a most active Instrument to carry on the Cause for King and Parliament; this pretence holding water, and proving prosperous, he then became the main stickler for Liberty of Conscience without any limitation, This toleration became his master-piece in Politicks, for it procured him a party that stuck close in all Cases of necessity. These Libertines in general, being divided into several particular Fractions ( as *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, *Socinians*, *Millenaries*, *Antisabbatarians*, *Ranters*, *Quakers*, *Seekers*, and God knows how many more ) did all of them serve as steps to mount our Protector to the highest pitch of Preferment. After he had made use of all that could augment his interest, then Humility condescended to look thorow his fingers at a Crown; but still waving the airy Title of King, he rather chose to accept the substantial Power of *Protector*. The *Primum mobile* of his desires herein being somewhat satisfied, then Parliaments were rallied, and by him as familiarly routed; wherein he shewed himself



himself to be in *Policy* as far above the *Peoples Capacities*, as *Saul* in *Stature* was above the *Israelites*. In his governing of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, it is obvious to all, he studied *Men* more than *Books*: so that his turn was served in all-Offices: Parts advanced few; but he that would never question Commands, but act freely his Interests, was sufficiently qualified for preferment; Yet this he would do, when Embassadors were to be made, or Forces sent into Foreign parts, then suitable spirits fitting the Imployment, were always called out to serve; as the Lord *Lockhart* for *France*, and *Reynolds* for *Flanders*: the first going in quality of Embassador, the other as General.

In the choice of His Privy-Council, much cunning might be seen: yet he never relied so much on their Councils, as to have it said, *England* was governed by a Council and Protector: for he made the world know, it was by Protector and Council.

In his rise, he never cut down one step before another was built to support him: this was seen in his levelling the *Long Parliament*, and present spring of the next *Little One*: then, they being dissolved, in comes an *Instrument* for his own Government. In all these Changes, he took time by the foretop, not suffering such an *interregnum* as might encourage the Peoples minds to work him any mischief.

His Speeches were for the most part ambiguous, especially in publick meetings, wherein he rather left others to pick out the meaning, than did it himself. But when Offenders came under his

his own examination, then would he speak plain English, and declare his power unto them in a ranting stile.

Secrecy in carrying on Designs, is the principal part of a Prince : at this he was excellent, both in Military and Civil Affairs ; insomuch that few actions ever miscarried under his hands, except that grand one of *Sancta Domingo*.

They that go about to diminish his Valour, do little less than rob him of his right : for in the Camp his Armour deprest fear, and made him stand in defiance of all Guns under the Demi-Cannon ; but at Court, his courage was somewhat quailed with a new light sprung up, called, *Killing no Murther*.

The Pride and Ambition which some say he was guilty of, may be easily excused as an original sin inherent in nature, and we all know, *That which is bred in the bone, will never out of the flesh*.

To conclude, he carryed his Design clear, and hit the mark he aim'd at, notwithstanding the Parliament, *Triplo Heath* and *Dunbars* Ingagements : which shews, that *Policy* and *Piety* may both lie in a bed, and yet not touch one another. But now we mention *Piety*,

His Religion must not pass my Pen ; in this he was zealous, not altogether like the Pharisee, that prayed in the Temple ; but really often would he mourn in secret, and many times did his eyes in publick distil tears at the Nations stubbornness.

To take him in the whole, he was a *Man* better fitted to make a *Prince* of, than the *People* was to receive him: this we see sufficiently in the management of the Government to his Death. But afterwards, the sudden disaster which befel his *Posterity* was so *admirable*, that it cannot be imputed to any thing else but

*Digitus Dei.*

---

LIBRARY of the  
**UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY**  
 New York

A

H  
 Mar  
 Phil  
 Nat  
 John  
 Edm  
 Sir  
 Sir  
 Col  
 Edm  
 Wal  
 Phil  
 Col  
 Rich  
 Fran  
 John

# A Catalogue of Ho- nours conferr'd on several Persons, by *Oliver Cromwel*, Lord Protector, in the time of His Government.

## *His Privy Council.*

**H**enry Lawrence Lord President.

Lieut. Gen. Fleetwood.

Major Gen. Lambert.

Philip Lord Lisle.

Nathaniel Fiennes Commissioner of the Great Seal.

John Desbrow } Generals at  
Edward Montague } Sea.

Sir Gilbert Pickering.

Sir Charles Wolsley.

Col. William Sydenham.

Edmund Earl of Mulgrave.

Walter Strickland, Esquire.

Philip Skippon, Major Gen.

Col. Philip Jones.

Richard Major, Esquire.

Francis Rouse, Esquire.

John Thurloe, Secretary of State.

*The Members of the other House, alias House  
of Lords.*

1. **L**ord Richard Cromwel.
2. **L**ord Henry Cromwel Deputy of Ireland.
3. Nathaniel Fiennes } Commissioners of the Great
4. John Lisle } Seal.
5. Henry Lawrence, President of the Privy Council.
6. Charles Fleetwood, Lieutenant General of the Army.
7. Robert Earl of Warwick.
8. Edmund Earl of Mulgrave.
9. Edward Earl of Manchester.
10. William Lord Viscount Say and Seal.
11. Philip Lord Viscount Lisle.
12. Charles Lord Viscount Howard.
13. Philip Lord Wharion.
14. Thomas Lord Faulconbridge.
15. George Lord Evers.
16. John Cleypole, Esquire.
17. John Desbrow } Generals at
18. Edward Montague } Sea.
19. Bulstrode Whitlock } Commissioners of the Treasury.
20. William Sydenham }
21. Sir Charles Wolsley.
22. Sir Gilbert Pickering.
23. Walter Strickland, Esquire.
24. Philip Skippon, Esquire.
25. Francis Rous, Esquire.
26. John Jones, Esquire.
27. Sir William Strickland.



38. John Fiennes, Esquire.  
 39. Sir Francis Russel.  
 40. Sir Thomas Honywood.  
 41. Sir Arthur Haslerigge.  
 42. Sir John Hobart.  
 43. Sir Richard Onslow.  
 44. Sir Gilbert Gerrard.  
 45. Sir William Roberts.  
 46. John Glyn } Chief Justices of both Ben-  
 47. Oliver St. John } ches. *a temple of justice*  
 48. William Pierrepont, Esquire.  
 49. John Crew, Esquire.  
 50. Alexander Popham, Esquire.  
 51. Philip Jones, Esquire.  
 52. Sir Christopher Pack.  
 53. Sir Robert Tichborn.  
 54. Edward Whalley, Commissary General.  
 55. Sir John Barkstead, Lieutenant of the Tower.  
 56. Sir Thomas Pride.  
 57. Sir George Fleetwood.  
 58. Sir John Huson.  
 59. Richard Ingoldsbey, Esquire.  
 60. James Berry, Esquire.  
 61. William Goff, Esquire.  
 62. Thomas Cooper, Esquire.  
 63. Edmund Thomas, Esquire.  
 64. George Monke, General in Scotland.  
 65. David Earl of Cassils.  
 66. Sir William Lockhart.  
 67. Archibald Johnson of Wareston. *a knight in arms*  
 68. William Steel Chancellor of Ireland.  
 69. Roger Lord Broghil.  
 70. Sir Matthew Tomlinson.

61. *William Lenthal* Master of the Rolls.62. *Richard Hampden*, Esquire.*Commissioners of the Great Seal, and their Officers.***N** *Athaniel Fienes. Esq.**John Lisle. Esq.**William Lenthal* Master of the Rolls. *Esq.**Officers attending.***H** *Enry Middleton* Serjeant at Arms. *Gent.**Mr. Brown. Gent.**Mr. Dove. Gent.**Judges of both Benches.***J** *ohn Glyn*, Lord Chief Justice.*Peter Warburton* } Justices of the upper  
*Richard Nudigate* } Bench.*Oliver St. John* Lord Chief Justice, and*Edward Atkins**Matthew Hale**Hugh Windham*

} Justices of the Common Bench

*His Barons of the Exchequer.***R** *obert Nicholas.**John Parker, and**Roger Hill.**Serjeant at Law,**Erasmus Earl.**Attur.*

*Honours conferr'd by him.*

261

Attorney General,

Edmund Prideaux. a foolish Person

Solicitor,

William Ellis: made a Baronet

*Serjeants at Law called by him to the Bar.*

<b>R</b> ichard Pepes,	25 January 1653.
Thomas Fletcher,	25 January 1653.
Matthew Hale,	25 January 1653.
William Steel,	9 February 1653.
John Maynard,	9 February 1653.
Richard Nudigate,	9 February 1653.
Thomas Twisden,	9 February 1653.
Hugh Windham,	9 February 1653.
Unton Crook,	21 June 1654.
John Parker,	21 June 1654.
Roger Hill,	28 June 1655.
William Shepard,	25 October 1656.
John Fountain,	27 November 1658.
Evan Scithe.	

*Viscounts.*

**C**harles Howard of Gilsland in Cumberland, created Baron Gilsland, and Lord Viscount Howard of Morpeth, the 20th of July 1657.

*Baronets.*

**J**ohn Read Esquire, of Bocket-Hall in Hertfordshire, created Baronet the 25 of June 1656.  
John Cleypole Esquire, created Baronet the 16th of July 1657.

*Thomas Chamberlayn* of *Wickham* Esquire, made a Baronet the 6th of *October* 1657.

*Thomas Beaumont* of *Staughton-Grange* in *Leicestershire*, Esquire, created *March* 5. 1657.

*John Twisleton* Esquire, of *Horsemans-Place* in *Dartford* in the County of *Kent*, created Baronet of the same, *March* 24. 1657.

*Henry Ingelsby* Esquire, created 31 of *March* 1658.

*Henry Wright* of *Dagenhams* in *Essex*, Esquire, created Baronet, *March* 31. 1658.

*Edmund Dunch* Esquire, of *East Wittenham* in *Berkshire*, created Baron of the same place, *April* 26. 1658.

*Griffith Williams* Esquire, of *Carnarvon*, made a Baronet the 28th of *May* 1658. *Baron*

*William Ellis*

*Knights, when and where made.*

**S**ir *Thomas Viner*, Lord Mayor of *London*, at *Grocers-Hall*, *February* 8. 1653.

Sir *John Copleston*, at *White-Hall*, *June* 1. 1653.

Sir *John Reynolds*, at *White-Hall*, *June* 11. 1655.

Sir *Christopher Pack*, Lord Mayor of *London*, at *White-Hall*, *Septemb.* 20. 1655.

Sir *Thomas Pride*, at *White-Hall*, *January* 17. 1655.

Sir *John Barkstead*, at *White-Hall*, *Jan.* 19. 1655.

Sir *Richard Combe*, at *White Hall*. *August* 1656.

Sir *John Dethick*, Lord Mayor of *London*, at *White-Hall*, *September* 15. 1656.

Sir *George Fleetwood* of *Bucks*.

Sir *William Lockhart*, at *White-Hall*, *December* 10.

Sir *James Calthrop* of *Suffolk*.

*Honours conferr'd by him.* 263

Sir Robert Tichborn, Lord Mayor of London, and

Sir Lislebone Long, Recorder, December 15.

Sir James Whitlock at White Hall, January 6.

Sir Thomas Dickeson of York, March 3. 1656.

Sir Richard Stainer, at White Hall, June 11. 1657.

Sir John Cleypole Baronet, at White-Hall, July 16.  
1657.

Sir William Wheeler, at Hampton Court, Aug. 26.  
1657.

Sir Edward Ward of Norfolk, at White-Hall, No-  
vember 2.

Sir Thomas Andrews, Alderman of London, at  
White-Hall, November 14.

Sir Thomas Foot, Alderman, }  
Sir Thomas Atkin, Alderman, } December 5.

Sir John Huson, Colonel,

Sir James Drax, at White Hall, Jan. 6.

Sir Henry Pickering, { White Hall,

Sir Philip Twisleton, { Feb. 1.

Sir John Lenthal, at White-Hall, March 9.

Sir John Ireton, Alderman of London.

Sir Henry Jones, at Hampton Court, July 17. 1658.

*Sic transit Gloria mundi.*

---

F I N I S.